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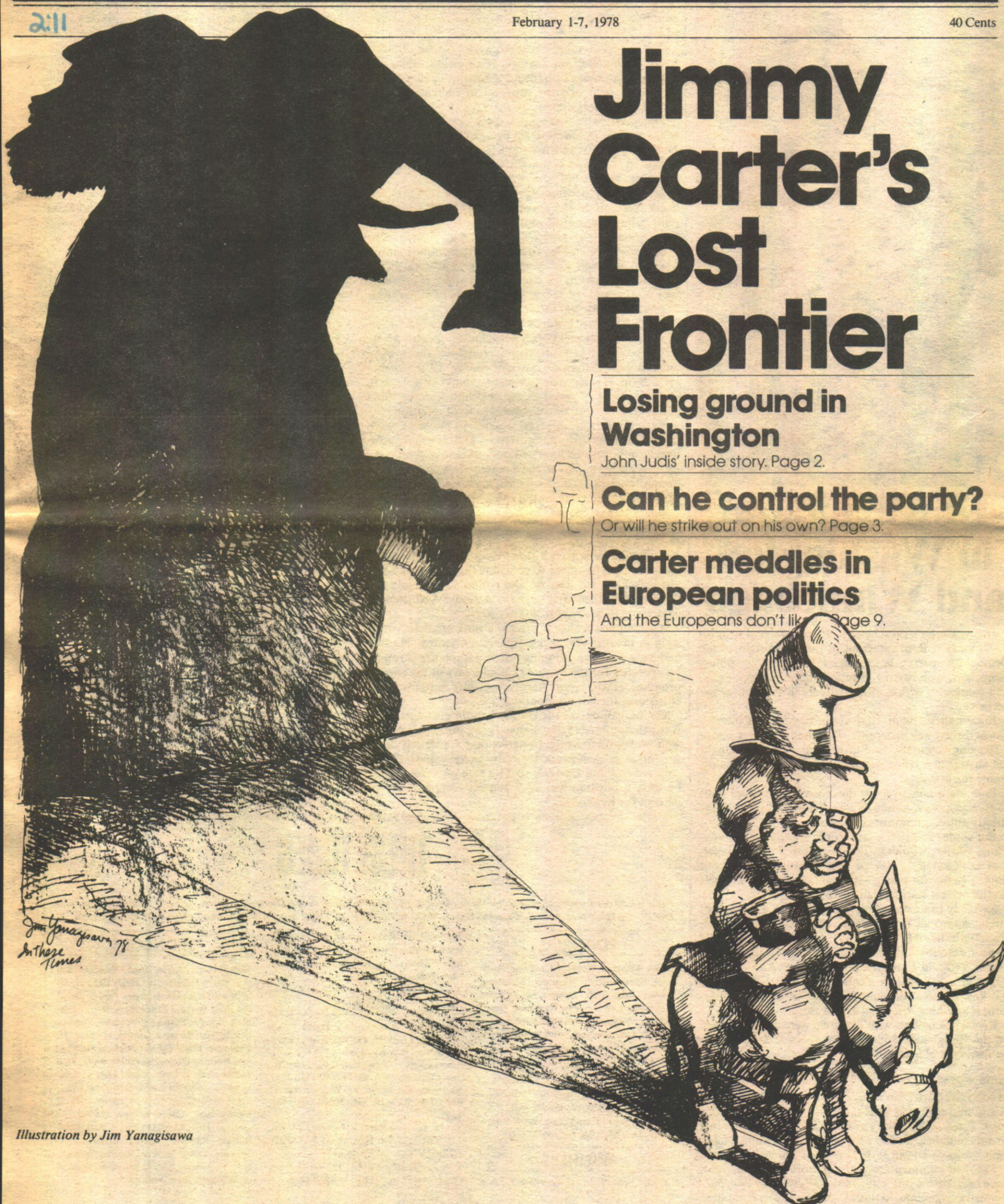


Illustration by Jim Yanagisawa

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Down and out in Washington and Winnebago

Jimmy Carter's presidency is often compared to John F. Kennedy's. Both came out of the center-right of the Democratic party; both waged largely programless campaigns, won narrow victories over inept opponents, and came into office with relatively little political experience.

Both had difficult first years in office. Congress blocked their key programs. They had to worry about a flagging economy, and after their first year sought the answer in a rising defense budget and business-oriented tax break.

Both made human rights the centerpiece of their public foreign policy, although with Kennedy it had a more strictly anti-Communist emphasis.

But while their first year records are similar—if anything, Carter, who didn't make an error nearly so serious as Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion, comes out slightly better on paper—the public reception of their presidencies is startlingly different.

Kennedy came out of his first year with a 78 percent public approval rating, and support, albeit critical, from both the right and the left. *U.S. News and World Report* described his first year as "having its ups and downs." David Lawrence saw promise. And the *New Republic's* T.R.B. saw Kennedy "growing." None of the key Democratic constituencies threatened desertion; if anything, they had drawn closer.

Kennedy's failures with Congress were largely blamed on the Republican-Southern Democratic axis, not on his own lack of leadership.

Gets worse every day?

In contrast, Carter has come out of his first year a loser. His public approval rating, even in the generous *New York Times/CBS* poll, was down to 51 percent (It had already plummeted to 49 percent in the November Harris poll). News of a 1980 Jerry Brown challenge is rife.

Political commentators, from both left and right, have been disowning him. In the *Wall Street Journal* Kennedy sycophant Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., compared Carter to Grover Cleveland and charged that he has "no underlying pattern or unifying vision behind his jumble of managerial proposals." Alan Baron concludes in *Politicks* that Carter is a "city manager" in a period

when the nation needs a "strong mayor."

U.S. News and World Report's Marvin Stone accuses Carter of merely "tinkering" and offering a "piecemeal attack" on the nation's problems rather than a "coherent program." *Business Week* headlined Carter's "bad start."

Carter's key constituencies have also been threatening to desert his ship.

Blacks, who gave Carter a 90 percent vote of confidence last January, now give him 56 percent, lower than any postwar Democrat has ever received. Moderate black leaders like the Urban League's Vernon Jordan have voiced their dissatisfaction. Chicago's Jesse Jackson keynoted the recent Washington meeting of the Republican National Committee.

Labor has been unhappy all year with Carter's free trade policies, his stingy jobs spending, and his refusal to back national health insurance. Only the pending labor law legislation in the Senate, for which labor is counting on Carter's support, has prevented a sharper break.

The suburban middle class to whom Carter directed much of his election rhetoric is smarting under the rise in the inflation rate from 5.8 percent in 1976 to 6.8 percent in 1977 and the prospect of increased social security and energy taxes.

Feminists, who make up a large percentage of the active women Democrats, are enraged at Carter's stand on federal aid for abortion. ("Lots of things in life are unfair.") Naderites blame Carter for the failure of the consumer agency bill.

Modern day progressives who looked to Carter to bring fresh air to the corrupt climate of Washington politics have been disillusioned by Carter's refusal to acknowledge Bert Lance's wrongdoing ("Bert, I'm proud of you") and his firing of Philadelphia's David Marston and New Jersey's Jonathon Goldstein. (Carter had promised in his campaign to appoint prosecutors on the basis of merit "without any consideration of political aspects or influence.")

And, of course, business leaders have had little good to say about Carter's performance, even though many of their criticisms more closely resemble those of a nagging parent than an outright enemy. Dow Chemical's Paul F. Oreffice complains that Carter "gets worse every day." Most executives chide him for "unpredictability" and unwillingness to fight inflation.

Even the European press, which had praised Carter during his May visit, has gotten on Carter's case. The usually supportive *Times* of London remarked on Carter's recent visit, "Every new administration in Washington takes time to 'get its act together.' The Carter administration, even on the most charitable interpretation, seems to be taking longer than usual."

A rank amateur.

Why has he been such a flop? Comparing Carter and Kennedy, it is tempting to conclude that Kennedy's oratorical skills, wit, charm, and political savvy made the difference in their first year evaluations. And there is something to be said for this perspective.

As a public speaker, Carter is a rank amateur, sing-song in his delivery, lacking passion or irony. He has had little success in winning public acceptance through his speeches for the Panama Canal treaty or his energy program. (Polls report hardly any shift in opinion on either over the last six months.)

He has exhibited little skill in handling Congress. It is worth noting here that Kennedy did somewhat better with his less Democratic Congress than Carter has done with his large Democratic majority. *Congressional Quarterly* reports that Carter's success rate on votes where he took a position was 74.9 percent compared to 81 percent for Kennedy.

Carter's experience as a governor in a one-party

Southern state did leave him ill-equipped to bargain with the different factions in Congress. He ended up putting his foot down and alienating congressional supporters on relatively unimportant matters like the water projects and behaving skittishly and inconsistently on key issues like the deregulation of natural gas and the \$50 tax rebate.

After an initial effort at taking his politics to the people, Carter largely withdrew into the shadows of the White House, except for his showpiece tour of Europe in the fall. He attended only two Democratic fundraisers in his first year compared to eight for Kennedy. He let the Democratic National Committee wither away.

The Lance and Marston affairs revealed an inability to reconcile public commitments and private politics. Instead of either getting rid of Marston immediately or of using his tenure as a token of the administration's commitment to the merit system, Carter waited a year before firing Marston. By that time, he had established a considerable reputation and following, and his investigation of civic corruption had implicated several key Democrats.

In foreign affairs he also displayed inconsistency and uncertainty. By the time of Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, both the Egyptians and the Israelis had given up hope that Carter would be able to effect the peace talks. Sadat's trip was an effort to take matters into his own hands.

His inability to make up his mind about whether the dollar should be devalued or revalued created skepticism about his economic policies among European businessmen and financiers.

He also hasn't been able to make up his mind about South Africa's black majority or America's relation to China.

Times have changed.

But Carter's dilemma is largely historical and not personal. The main difference between him and Kennedy is the times in which they govern. (See *Inside Story*, June 1, 1977.)

Carter's lack of vision reflects the ideological crisis that pervades not merely Washington but the two major parties, every city hall, newspapers, churches, and intellectuals. And his lack of program reflects a political stalemate among the nation's ruling forces that he alone will be unable to end.

Kennedy's program and vision was the essence of cold war liberalism: a prosperous nation, with rising wages, profits and social services, fueled by increased federal spending, chiefly for arms, the defense of freedom against godless aggressive Communism. It rested on a world perceived to be divided between "free" capitalism and "unfree" communism.

Carter inherited a Western capitalism sinking under the weight of industrial overcapacity and a world no longer susceptible to simple cold war policies. Carter understood this as a candidate, and it was the key to his success. But what was right for him as a candidate is not working for him as President.

As a president, Carter can hardly make his reputation on being "above politics," or having no ideology. He has to find ways to limit unemployment and inflation without resorting to massive public job spending, which is opposed by business, or wage-price controls, which is opposed by both business and labor.

He has to project a vision of a "sound nation" in a country where 50 percent of Americans believe their life has become worse in the past year.

He has to defend a freedom—the freedom of private enterprise—which has grown more sullied with each passing year.

It is no surprise that he is having trouble. Even the last lord of Camelot would have.

Next week: *The Carter program for 1978.*

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CARTER AND THE DEMOCRATS

Who'll control the party?

By Rhodes Cook

WASHINGTON

WHEN JOHN C. WHITE becomes chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) in late January, he will take over an institution that has been kept at arms' length by President Carter and largely ignored by White House political aides.

Democratic leaders in and out of Washington agree that Carter did very little to build the party during his first year in office. Carter's public role in 1977 amounted to two fund-raising dinners and one-day campaign swings through New Jersey and Virginia for Democratic gubernatorial candidates.

Carter has promised he will undertake a more active role in party money-raising and campaigning in 1978, but some sources doubt whether this involvement will pay any dividends in strengthening the party base.

"Carter and his people have no interest in building the Democratic party," says Austin Ranney, a past president of the American Political Science Association and a member of several of the party's rules commissions. "He is *par excellence* a loner. He feels he doesn't owe a damn thing to the Democratic party."

"His only interest," said Ranney, "is in eliminating or softening the rules that make it easy to challenge his renomination."

Indeed, with White House backing, the Winograd Commission on presidential primaries and party rules is formulating new delegate selection rules for 1980 that may raise the percentage of votes candidates must receive in caucuses and primaries in order to win delegates. The higher percentages could limit embarrassing nuisance opposition to Carter.

Personal organization kept.

Without a strong base of support within the party, Carter has reached out to keep alive his personal organization of work-



Who's to blame for the confusion and disarray in the Democratic party? Supporters of former Chairman Strauss blame his successor, departing Chairman Kenneth M. Curtis (above).

ers from the presidential campaign. The effort has brought howls of protest from a number of state chairs who view the Carter network as a competing operation.

All recent presidents have had a personal campaign organization, but Carter is unique in his effort to keep his grass-roots supporters active after the election. The national committee has been given the delicate task of maintaining the Carter network while at the same time trying to coordinate its activities with the state parties.

So far, the DNC has stressed joint work projects, asking the two groups to work together in their states to publicize major Carter programs in fields such as energy and government reorganization.

For Carter, the maintenance of his campaign organization seems a risk worth taking. The Carter network could provide a reliable support group across the nation that could be employed both as a pressure group in support of the President's policies and the hub of his re-election effort in 1980.

Who is at fault depends on whom you talk with. Loyal supporters of former DNC chairman Strauss blame his successor, departing chairman Kenneth M. Curtis and his staff at the DNC. Party activists point their finger at the White House staff.

The dissatisfaction of state leaders is not a new development; it has been simmering throughout the first year of the Carter administration. The criticism first surfaced in April when several DNC members publicly protested the administration's handling of patronage and fund-raising in their states.

The full committee passed a resolution of protest at its April meeting, requiring the White House to consult state party leaders in the future before making appointments and demanding that the DNC notify state leaders before holding fund-raising activities in their states. But difficulties continued.

Patronage problems.

For the most part, party leaders were not early arrivals on the Carter bandwagon during the presidential campaign and a comfortable working relationship between the administration and the state parties has yet to be developed.

The principal gripe has concerned patronage. "We had starved for eight years," complained Suellen Albrecht, vice chair of the Wisconsin party, "and nothing was coming forth."

White House aide and former DNC executive director Mark Siegel responded that nothing was coming forth basically because very little was available. Siegel contended there are only one-third the number of federal patronage jobs available now as in 1963. "When we were out of power we thought of the government as a candy store," said Siegel. "But the government is not as much of a candy store as we thought."

But overexpectation has been only part of the patronage problem. Lack of communication and controversial political appointments have been as much a cause of concern with state leaders.

The criticism varies from state to state. In some states, party leaders are jealous that Carter aides have dealt primarily with the local Carter network and have appointed outsiders to patronage jobs.

In other states the complaint has been that Carter aides have contacted them in the late stages of decision-making, sometimes after an appointment already has been made.

A third complaint has been that the administration has been too generous to Republicans.

Strauss loyalists who found it difficult to deal with the DNC headed to the White

House where they found Mark Siegel willing to listen to their problems, particularly concerning patronage, and to help.

Party activists, who appreciated the chairmanship of the easy-going, unflappable Curtis, claimed that the problem in dealing with the states was caused by the White House, not the DNC. The DNC never was given a clear function, activists argued, and Siegel's hand in party matters further undercut the credibility



Incoming Democratic Chairman John C. White (above) will face several major conflicts, including controversial rewriting of party rules that would make it much more difficult to challenge Carter.

and effectiveness of the DNC.

"The national committee can only do as much as it's allowed to do," explained Iowa's Ed Campbell. "The White House dilutes the arm and strength of the national committee... The DNC can't make appointments. The DNC is only people."

Curtis cited another limitation on the DNC—money. Since 1968 the party has been deep in debt, up to \$9 million in the early 1970s. Through telethons, fund-raising dinners, direct-mail ventures and various big money appeals, the debt has been sliced to \$2.5 million.

Lack of money, Curtis said, has prevented the party from offering many services or of being much financial help to anybody. "We don't have the luxury of being all things to all people," he said. "We're broke."

Curtis mentioned the frustration of managing a debt-ridden organization as a major factor in his decision to quit the post. Some party activists believe, though, that he was hounded out by White House staffers who preferred a more aggressive spokesman for the President at DNC.

Regardless, his controversial decision to leave the chairmanship, announced in December, has fueled debate among party leaders about what the role of the DNC should be during the Carter years.

Two views for party.

There are two separate points of view—one, supported by Strauss loyalists such as Ohio chairman Paul Tipps, and the other by party activists like Minnesota chairman Ulric Scott. Their state organizations reflect the differing concepts—

Ohio, traditional and labor-oriented, based more on patronage than on issues; Minnesota, open, issue-oriented and sometimes chaotic.

The Ohio idea is that the DNC should be a well-organized support arm for the President. "The DNC," said Tipps, "should be the political extension of the White House."

Most Democratic leaders assume that Carter would be sympathetic to the Ohio idea. Siegel generally agreed with that assessment. Carter, Siegel said, "is turned on to the DNC as a service institution."

The President is particularly interested, Siegel declared, in seeing the DNC become proficient in voter registration and fund raising, and in providing campaign consultation and services to Democratic candidates.

Supporters of the Minnesota idea argue that to remain a vital force, the party's national organization must be more than a service institution and propaganda arm for the White House. They claim that the emphasis should be on developing the national committee as an open, independent organization that would provide the president with advice from the grass-roots.

Curtis tended to agree with the Minnesota idea, noting that the party could serve as a valuable listening post for the President and save him from decisions that would estrange him from the party.

There have not been any roll-call votes within the DNC to test the strength of either the Minnesota or Ohio ideas, although party activists assume the President's backers have the votes.

"A lot of party folk assume they take directions from the White House," said Rep. Donald M. Fraser (D-Minn.), a member of the national committee. "As long as they feel that way, that's what will happen."

Yet party activists could command a substantial minority, if not a majority of the DNC. Wisconsin vice chair Suellen Albrecht spearheaded a petition drive to enlist support for Curtis earlier this fall. Although Curtis dissuaded her from continuing the effort and results were never publicized, Albrecht claimed that about one-half of the 363 members of the national committee had indicated their support.

The best response, she said, came from such states in the agricultural Midwest as Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska and North and South Dakota. She indicated there was a fair response from the Northeast and West, and virtually no response from DNC members in the South or such states in the industrial Midwest as Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Illinois.

Possible disputes.

Although Carter aides are working to minimize party in-fighting, conflicts could develop in three areas in 1978—the selection of a new chairperson, the report of the Winograd Commission and the agenda of the party's second mid-term conference.

In selecting Deputy Secretary of Agriculture John C. White as the new national chair, the White House tried to defuse potential opposition by thorough advance work. Carter aides sought input on the selection from nearly all the power bases in the party, including state leaders, early Carter supporters and local Democratic officials.

Yet, party activists, concerned that Curtis' departure may symbolize an end to party openness, could mount a floor challenge at the DNC selection meeting to be held Jan. 27.

But the most bitter fight of the year could come in the spring when the DNC is asked to adopt the report of the Winograd Commission.

Continued on page 4.

TAXES

How oil companies avoid taxes

By Steven Schneider

A CONTROVERSIAL FOREIGN tax credit has allowed the major oil companies to pay no taxes on their foreign earnings for more than ten years. The tax credit has already cost the U.S. Treasury billions of dollars, and has had the effect of diverting this money into the coffers of the oil-producing nations.

Internal Revenue Commissioner Jerome Kurtz recently told a House subcommittee that in 1976 alone the oil companies had reduced their tax payments to Washington by \$1 billion through their use of the credit.

Both the IRS and the Treasury department are now reconsidering the credit, which Treasury reluctantly agreed to in 1950 under State department pressure.

The oil companies maintain that they have not been treated differently than anyone else. "The foreign tax credit is available to all U.S. companies," a Mobil Oil ad states, noting that IBM, RCA, the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, and McDonald's are also eligible to use it.

The foreign tax credit does allow any company with foreign earnings to reduce its tax obligation in the U.S. by the amount it pays in taxes to foreign governments.

What the Mobil advertisement fails to note is that while other companies accumulate these tax credits as a result of the income taxes they pay on profits, the oil companies can accumulate tax credits on what are essentially royalty payments—normally treated as a cost of doing business.

For example, if RCA sells three record albums in Saudi Arabia for \$13.50, and the cost of producing the records is \$13.25, RCA is left with a 25 cent profit on the sale. Since Saudi Arabia imposes a 10 percent tax on RCA's profits, the company accumulates a tax credit of 2.5 cents. Since the U.S. has a tax rate of 48 percent, RCA would still owe the U.S. Treasury 9.5 cents.

If Mobil Oil sells a barrel of Saudi Arabian oil for \$13.50, and it costs Mobil \$13.25 to produce this oil, Mobil is also left with a profit of 25 cents on the sale. But Mobil's total cost consists of a 25 cent production cost and a \$13.00 payment to Saudi Arabia for the taking of its oil. This is ordinarily termed a royalty payment because it is based on the volume of oil the companies take rather than on their profits.

Yet Mobil is allowed to take a foreign tax credit on this cost of doing business. Thus the oil company gets a credit of \$13, in contrast to the 2.5 cent credit that RCA earned on an equivalent sale.

The result? While RCA would still owe money to the U.S. Treasury, Mobil's tax credit on a barrel of oil would far exceed its profits. So the oil company would pay no taxes on these foreign earnings.

Since 1953 the tax credits earned by the largest oil companies have exceeded their tax obligations to the U.S. The result is that these companies have generally paid no taxes whatsoever to Washington for their foreign earnings.

The origins of this industry windfall go back to 1950. As the Senate subcommittee on multinational corporations discovered, the State department was concerned at that time about stabilizing regimes friendly to the U.S. in the oil-exporting countries.

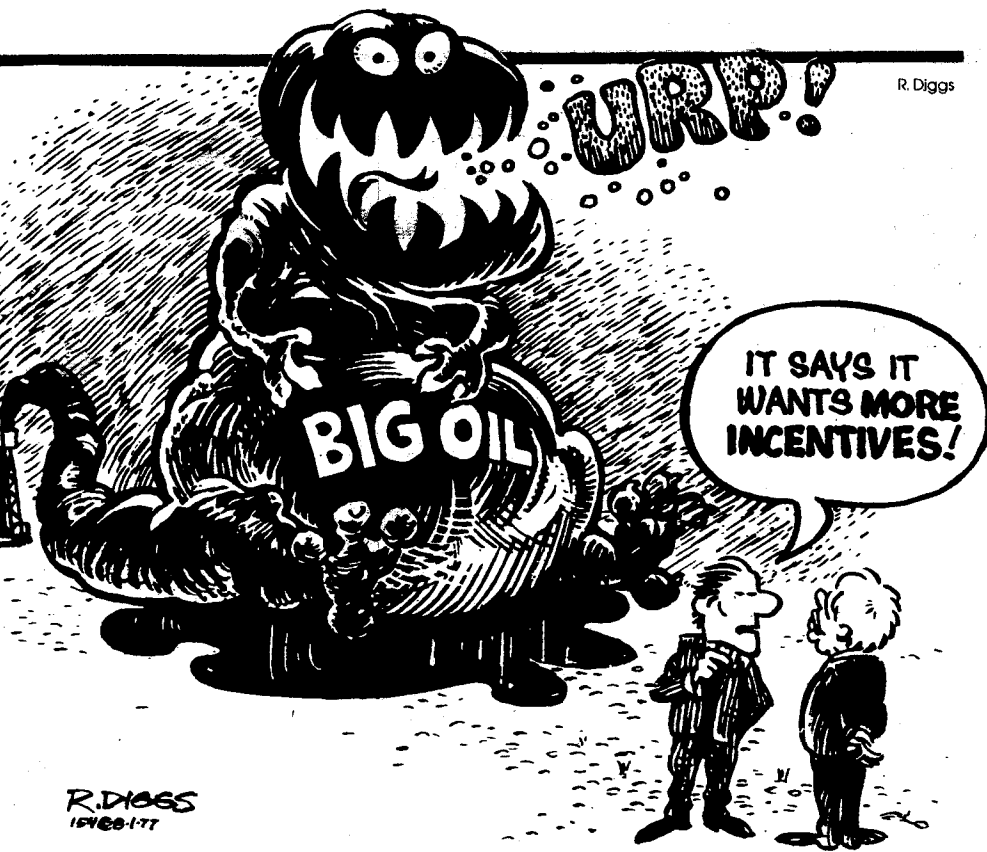
The department determined that the most effective way of doing this would be to increase the payments that the international oil companies made to the governments of these countries. But the department also was afraid that if the companies made up for increased royalty payments by raising prices, the European economic recovery would be endangered.

Theoretically, many companies can use foreign tax credits, but a special ruling allows the oil giants to avoid U.S. taxes on all foreign profits.

Consequently, it hit on the idea of changing the royalty system to an "income tax" system and persuaded a reluctant Treasury department to go along.

Henceforth the payments that the companies made to the oil-producing countries would be treated as taxes rather than as royalties. As expected, the effect of this was to shift the companies' tax payments from the U.S. Treasury to the Treasuries of the oil producers.

In 1950, for example, the American companies in Saudi Arabia paid the U.S. \$50 million in income taxes as a result of their foreign operations. But in 1951—



following the tax credit ruling—company payments to the U.S. fell to only \$6 million. At the same time payments to the Saudis increased from \$66 million in 1950 to almost \$110 million in 1951.

To maintain the competitive positions of their companies, other governments were forced to duplicate the U.S. Treasury ruling. That makes it easy for the oil companies to defend the current system by claiming that every other country does it too.

Yet, even if the Treasury department decides to toughen up its regulations, the

oil companies and the oil-producing countries will likely find a way around it. The companies have accumulated huge tax credits in the past, which current law allows them to apply for another five years, regardless of changes in current regulations.

As long as the current regulations remain in effect, the size of the companies' tax credits will increase with every increase in the price of OPEC oil.

(© Pacific News Service)

Steven Schneider monitors energy policy for the Ford Foundation-funded Third Century America project.

The Democrats and Carter

Continued from page 3.

grad Commission. The commission, headed by Michigan party chairman Morley Winograd, is considering changes in

the presidential primary system and delegate selection rules.

The center of controversy is a proposal to revise the proportional representation requirement so that it would be more difficult for splinter candidates to win delegates.

Opponents contend that it is an unnecessary change designed to crush dissent.

The third area of potential controversy is the agenda of the mid-term conference, to be held in Memphis in early December. The first such conference in 1974 was devoted exclusively to the adoption of a party charter. Democratic leaders, though,

are uncertain about the scope of the 1978 affair.

Curtis has stated that he would like to see the conference focus on a discussion of the national issues and party building, with the maximum dialogue that is possible in a meeting of more than 1,600 delegates. He has suggested that both workshop and plenary sessions be held.

But the White House has yet to weigh in with its opinion, and it is the one that is expected to count. As Ulric Scott concluded: "What the White House wants, the White House will get."

(© Congressional Quarterly)

North Carolina governor gives little help to Wilmington 10 defendants

By Bob McMahon

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

ON JANUARY 24 NORTH CAROLINA Governor Jim Hunt told a statewide audience that he had decided to keep the Wilmington 10 in jail, with somewhat reduced sentences.

Hunt strongly defended the state's court system. The defendants, ten civil rights activists convicted seven years ago of arson and conspiring to assault emergency personnel, he asserted, had received "a fair trial"; the jury "made the right decision"; and the appellate court "ruled correctly." He had, however, decided that the sentences were too severe and reduced them somewhat, but not to time served or to immediate eligibility for parole, as many had expected.

The governor's announcement was received with bitterness by the Wilmington 10 and their friends. James Ferguson, chief defense attorney, said that he was "shocked and dismayed that the governor went on statewide television to say absolutely nothing." Ferguson labeled the governor's action "a crass political appeal to the basest instincts of the people of this state."

Elizabeth Chavis, mother of defendant Ben Chavis, said that Hunt had "only echoed what the prosecutors said."

"To say at the outset that it was a fair trial, told us at the outset what to expect," she said, "for it was well known that it was not a fair trial.... The facts are

known all over the world."

North Carolina politicians privately described the speech to reporters as designed to solidify Hunt's support among conservative voters, with an eye on a 1980 race for a second term as governor. "Remember," one said, "the governor does not have any challenge from the left. It's going to come from the right and he dipped to the right."

Richard League, the North Carolina assistant attorney general who has opposed the Ten in recent appeal hearings, said that he was "initially disappointed that he [Hunt] did anything for them, but on balance it could have been a lot worse."

Gov. Hunt commuted the ten sentences to the following new minimum terms: Joe Wright, 13 years minimum; Jerry Jacobs, James McKoy, Reginald Epps, William Vereen, Wayne Moore, 14 years minimum; Marvin Patrick and Connie Tindall, 15 years minimum; Ben Chavis, 17 years minimum.

Hunt left untouched the 7-10 year sentence of Anne Sheppard Turner, the only white in the group, now out on parole.

All of the Ten except Chavis will be eligible for parole by the end of this year; Chavis will not be considered until January 1980. Eligibility, of course, does not mean that the parole board will decide on release.

The Wilmington 10 case has been a major embarrassment to President Carter's human rights diplomacy. The case drew international attention, including censure by Amnesty International, after three main prosecution witnesses con-

fessed last spring that they had lied at the Ten's trial.

Carter has been under domestic pressure to act. Some 50 members of Congress have expressed concern about the case.

The day after Hunt announced his decision, Rep. Donald Edwards (D-Cal.) and Rep. Robert Drinan (D-Mass.) asked to meet with U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell to urge the Justice department to file a friend of the court brief backing the Ten's federal court appeal for a new trial.

"The governor didn't learn much from all the thousands of hours he allegedly spent studying the case," Drinan said. "He's missed the whole point that all of the evidence on which these people were convicted has been vacated because three witnesses have come out and said that the district attorney actually paid them to give the evidence that they did."

The Carter administration has tried to avoid formally intervening in the case, claiming that it is a state matter. Meanwhile, Justice department officials tried to signal Hunt that the case was an embarrassment and that he should take them off the hook.

Supporters of the Ten have called for a national demonstration outside of the White House Saturday, March 25. Ben Chavis said at a press conference after Hunt's speech that the Ten will continue to demand a full pardon of innocence from Gov. Hunt, and called upon President Carter to support that demand.

Bob McMahon is a free-lance writer in North Carolina.

HOUSING

Rent strike in Minneapolis

By Sam Silver

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

ARENT STRIKE INVOLVING tenants in over 200 housing units here is about to enter its fifth month. Organized by the West Bank Tenants Union, the strike is against the urban renewal firm Cedar Riverside Associates, which wants to redevelop this city's West Bank neighborhood from single family homes to high rise high-density apartments. Not happy with the scheme, the tenants have struck CRA four times in four years, once for 15 months. In the process the union has won recognition and some concessions from CRA.

Formed by former University of Minnesota accounting professor Keith Heller and his partner Gloria Segal, CRA has been buying up housing in the old Scandinavian area on the West Bank since the late '50s.

By 1968 Heller and company owned the neighborhood. "Barton Ashman, a Chicago planning consultant, convinced them to do a really big development," says Jack Cann, a community activist. "Then they began to buy up land on a large scale," he adds.

CRA went public and convinced the city to adopt an urban renewal plan for the West Bank. "It was unique in that the city would acquire parcels in order to give them to Heller-Segal," says Cann. The two partners soon owned 80 percent of the non-institutional housing in the target area.

Called "a city within the city," the CRA scheme fit nicely into the Johnson/Nixon New Communities Program. In 1970, after CRA was bolstered by the addition of Frederick McKnight, an heir to the 3M fortune and a personal friend of HUD Secretary George Romney, the way was cleared for federal financing and friendly private investing.

In the beginning CRA espoused a Great Society line. They were going to use high technology to save the inner city. The structure would be private building money to be secured by public money. There was to be a comprehensive land use plan. And the housing was to be racially and economically integrated, allowing for government subsidies.

Three years after they went public, Cann points out, "they went to the city council for \$100 million." But the city council refused to bail out CRA. Likewise, the comprehensive plan turned out merely to be a development schedule.

But Cann is most bitter about the third part of the CRA plan: "Of the 13,000 units in the existing complex, not one is for a large low income family, exactly the sort that characterizes the ghetto in Minneapolis."

CRA spoke as though the average investor was a neighbor who would throw a few thousand dollars in to help create a new multi-racial society. But *Snoose News*, a local community newspaper, discovered that the major investors were people like Philip Pillsbury, retired chairman of the Pillsbury Co.; Roger Kennedy, vice president of the Ford Foundation, and Thomas E. Dewey Jr. Dewey reportedly said that "It's principally a tax shelter and it worked out well."

The first CRA unit, Cedar Square West, put up between 1971 and 1973, has had constant problems. Jackie Slater, a resident and rent striker, and a newly-elected member of the Minneapolis city council, says, "The apartments in my unit have turned over six times in five years." And there have been problems with the elevators, she says.

The most serious problem has been the presence of carbon monoxide in the buildings. "The fresh air intake takes car fumes into the building," Slater explains. "The first strike involved getting management to do something about it. The settlement resulted in the Minnesota Pol-



Ann Norton, lawyer for the West Bank Tenants Union, at a community meeting to discuss the progress of the rent strike.

lution Control Agency coming in and testing. They found that for several days the CO level inside the building was above the street level violation. This time around we are going to do something about it."

The current strike involves 50 residents of Cedar Square West and 150 residents of older homes in the neighborhood. Rents from striking households are collected by the West Bank Tenants Union and held in escrow.

The strike has precipitated a cash flow

crisis at CRA, which faces other financial troubles as well. In recent years CRA has neglected mortgage payments and HUD has now begun foreclosure efforts on CRA's property.

The city has also had second thoughts about West Bank redevelopment. The elected Project Area Committee, with Minnesota Housing and Redevelopment Authority, is sponsoring community-wide workshops to develop a new plan for rehabilitation and housing for large families.

As CRA readies eviction notices for striking tenants, Minneapolis' new mayor and the city's housing authority have expressed support for the community's rehabilitation plan. The federal government, which is foreclosing, may also favor the tenants' approach to West Bank redevelopment.

Meanwhile, the tenants remain on strike.

Sam Silver is a free-lance journalist who recently spent some time in Minneapolis.

INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES

Battle brewing on wiretapping

By Alan Berlow

WASHINGTON

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF the United States goes to a federal judge and tells him that a particular "foreign agent" is involved in "clandestine intelligence activities" that may be "harmful to the security of the United States." The Attorney General says he needs permission to wiretap the foreign agent's phone.

What are the chances the judge will say no?

Pretty slim, if records on wiretaps of regular criminal activity—as distinct from "foreign agent" surveillance—are any guide. In 1976, federal and state judges approved 686 wiretaps on suspected criminals, according to the Administrative Office of the U.S. courts. In the same year they disapproved two.

That is one of the reasons civil libertarians are skeptical of proposed legislation that would for the first time require specific judicial approval for foreign intelligence wiretaps. The proposal is likely to be the subject of major debate in the House and Senate this year.

The legislation, sponsored by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and currently awaiting Senate floor action, is a direct outgrowth of the 1975-1976 Senate investigation of 40 years of intelligence agency abuses.

It is the first major piece of legislation Congress has considered to place outside controls on intelligence agency spying and information-gathering within the U.S.

Through a three-step procedure, Kennedy's bill would virtually eliminate the President's almost unlimited power to conduct national security wiretaps in the U.S. He would, however, retain that authority abroad.

The procedure, requiring written ap-

proval for electronic surveillance from an agency official, the Attorney General and a federal court judge is viewed by supporters of the bill as a major deterrent to the wiretap abuses of the past.

But civil libertarians, led by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), are less sanguine about the bill's deterrent possibilities.

They say the certification procedures requiring evidence that wiretap target is a "foreign agent" involved in "clandestine intelligence activities" that "may be harmful to the United States," are far too broadly defined and would continue to allow snooping on political dissidents.

The Justice department counters that the standards must be written somewhat broadly because the targets and activities of foreign agents are difficult to define.

But civil libertarians are even more fearful about another aspect of the judicial certification process—its "noncriminal standard."

The ACLU argues that under the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution the government has no right to conduct wiretaps or microphone surveillance unless it has evidence that a crime has been or is being committed.

The Kennedy bill, however, proposes a noncriminal standard because the Justice department insists there are cases in which the national security might require wiretapping but in which neither existing espionage laws nor the Kennedy bill would allow the FBI to get a warrant.

Civil libertarians also fear that that standard will establish a precedent for other intelligence agency investigations without evidence of criminal activity, and is especially dangerous as Congress may soon be considering specific charters for the FBI and CIA, outlining what they can and cannot do.

ACLU Washington director John Shat-

tuck recently argued: "If the FBI is given an express authority to wiretap Americans not engaged in crime it will certainly assert a similar authority to conduct other investigations without evidence of crime. Under this approach, the door to political surveillance is wide open."

Kennedy, who supported the noncriminal standard in committee because he felt the bill could not otherwise be approved, now supports a criminal standard. A major floor fight on this issue is considered inevitable.

So far there has been little opposition to the bill from conservatives who apparently have a hard time opposing a bill the FBI says it can live with. When the bill gets to the Senate floor, conservatives can be expected to fight liberal attempts to amend the bill in areas such as:

- The bill's failure to extend protections against wiretapping to Americans abroad.
- The bill's definition of a "foreign agent" and a "conspiracy" and its failure to define "clandestine intelligence activities," all of which critics say were overbroad elements of the noncriminal standard and an invitation to spying on political dissidents.
- A double standard in the bill that extends fewer protections to foreign visitors to the U.S. than to U.S. citizens and which civil libertarians say violates the Fourth Amendment.
- A provision that would require landlords and other private citizens to cooperate with federal intelligence agencies in placing wiretaps or microphone surveillance devices.
- The bill's failure to cover all domestic surveillance by the National Security Agency.

Wiretap legislation will also be debated in the House Intelligence and Judiciary committees early this year.

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Subcontracting imperils public workers

By David Moberg

LIKE SO MANY CITY OFFICIALS, Rochester, N.Y., administrators want to save money. So it wasn't surprising when they jumped at a proposal from a private firm to pick up trash in one neighborhood for less than the city's cost. They would simply use two laborers instead of three on each truck.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), however, saw jobs of 32 members threatened. After determining that other cities got along with two laborers, union representatives offered to cut back the crews and put the other men in a general labor pool. The city refused and proceeded to take its new plan to the neighborhood for approval.

At the community meeting AFSCME and its supporters argued that their plan would save the city a substantial sum in comparison with the private contractor. Moreover, the private contractor would cut service in half, refuse to pick up trash in back of people's houses and charge the city extra to haul refuse away.

Community residents, especially older people, were swayed by the AFSCME case and voted down the private contract, saving public workers their jobs.

Challenges across the country.

Similar challenges face public employees union locals across the country, but not all stories end the same. AFSCME guesses very roughly that half a million public worker jobs have been lost to private contractors in the past decade. A large portion of the 600,000 federal jobs cut out by Nixon and Ford also went to private contractors.

Now with fiscal woes besetting many cities and states the pressure to contract out public work is growing, even though there is at best shaky support for the argument that private businesses do public work cheaper.

It is not simply desire for efficiency, however, that spurs government administrators to contract out public jobs. Officials often want to undercut the growing power of public employee unions and to sidestep problems of grievances and strikes. Rather than negotiate, Max Liberles, president of the 4,300-member public aid workers AFSCME local in Chicago charges, they "let the private employer shit on the workers."

By using private contractors administrators hope to gain freedom to hire and fire, to avoid long-term commitments of employment for workers and to save payment of pensions and other benefits.

Contracting out also permits city and state officials to shunt aside other managerial duties. "Contracting out is a wave sweeping across the country where politicians are looking for a way to get out of headaches by contracting out their problems," John Showalter, executive director of the Tucson, Ariz., local says. "We had a perfect example of that sort of mentality: the new hospital just didn't work, and they were thinking of contracting out the whole hospital. They couldn't deal with responsibility: 'Get it out of my hair.'"

In the past private firms have often turned over unprofitable operations, such as mass transit, to public authorities, usually cashing in nicely on the shift. Now many corporations find that they can feed profitably at the public trough.

That has been most notorious with the abuse of Medicaid and Medicare payments by hospitals, doctors, pharmacies and various middlemen, and with the expansion of scandalously inadequate nurs-



Jane Melnick

Underlying contracting out public services, in many cases, is the desire to curtail and control unions.

ing homes, day care facilities and half-way houses funded by federal programs.

Especially during the Nixon and Ford administrations, federal legislation often included clauses encouraging private contracting at the city and state levels.

Minimum government.

The Nixon-Ford years also gave new force to the long-standing ideological attack on "big government," "bloated bureaucracies" and governmental action of any kind. Carter's rhetorical emphasis on trimming the size of government hasn't changed the tone.

There is a philosophy of "minimum government" among many politicians, says Harry Hatry, director of state and local government research at the Urban Institute, a think tank with prominent corporate leaders as sponsors. That philosophy "does play an important role in selling the switch [from public to private] since a lot of legislative people are businessmen and it's to their predilections," Hatry says.

Businessmen constantly assert that

"government shouldn't be in competition with private business," Showalter says, although recently private contractors have taken over sensitive jobs, such as security guards or even firefighting in several Arizona communities, that are traditionally and clearly governmental responsibilities.

Blue-collar workers, especially in sanitation and maintenance work, are most often threatened by private contracting. But contracting of social service and white collar jobs is increasing: public aid clerks in Chicago, narcotics agents in rural Ohio, engineers in New York, day care workers in Dade County, Fla., tax appraisers in southern Illinois, and even, for a short while, city administrators in South San Francisco.

For several years AFSCME has been fighting a related battle against the abuse of "de-institutionalization," the progressive notion of reintegrating mental patients and delinquent children into normal community life instead of locking them away indefinitely. In the hands of most politicians, however, the policy

Headache in private sector

Contracting out has brought headaches for unions in the private as well as the public sector.

Members of the United Auto Workers and the Steelworkers, especially skilled trades and maintenance workers, have pressed for strong restrictions on subcontracting during the past several national contract negotiations, but without much success.

The problem is especially acute for unions that have won not only higher wages but also substantial benefits

and job security provisions, which subcontracting circumvents.

Yet the confrontation over subcontracting has run into other workplaces too. Members of a Service Employees local in Chicago's Michael Reese hospital recently protested the replacement of some regular maintenance workers by subcontracting workers, who were endangering patients and staff with the chemicals they used. One rank and file leader, Bill Burns, was fired for his role in the protest. ■

has been reduced to crude cost-cutting abandonment of the needy to second-rate profit-making operations or to the streets, knocking out thousands of public jobs in the process.

AFSCME contends, contrary to many public administrators, that private contracting is not usually cheaper, especially when both total costs and the quality of service are taken into account. Union leaders say that private contracting also leads to kickbacks for election campaigns and the corruption of public officials, poorer performance of vital services, less government flexibility and lack of accountability to the public and elected representatives. Deep involvement of private contractors in public affairs, especially consultant and managerial work, also threatens to intensify the pro-business class bias of government.

Spiro-Agnew, who pleaded no contest to a long string of bribery charges stemming from his years as governor of Maryland as he stepped down in disgrace from the vice-presidency, is a particularly flamboyant example of the corruption that often comes when governments rely heavily on outside contractors, according to an AFSCME study by John D. Hanrahan, *Government for Sale: Contracting Out, The New Patronage*.

Hanrahan cites numerous other contracting out scandals, including vast overcharges in Albany, N.Y., by politically connected firms and a multimillion dollar fleecing of the Chicago sanitary district by firms that bribed officials for sludge-hauling contracts.

Quality an issue.

Quality and accountability are often problems with private contractors:

- A tax revolt broke out in rural southern Illinois when private tax assessors, replacing public officials, made hurried mass assessments that unfairly hiked property taxes for small farmers, often by 100 percent.

- Liberles contends that the elimination of overtime for some Chicago public aid "homemakers," who provide around-the-clock housecleaning, paramedical care, child supervision, counseling and other services to temporarily disabled people, and the hiring of private contractors instead will result in less comprehensive care that will ultimately cost the state more in other services and damage many families.

- A shift from public to private guards in Tucson has meant, according to Showalter, that "theft within city buildings is going up. Security is not provided in the hospital where often dangerous patients are."

In the end, however, the battle is often fought over costs. AFSCME leaders argue that public employees can match or beat private contractors, who have to make a profit and pay taxes. Any "inefficiency can be cured within," according to Liberles. "The state should be able to manage its own business. There's no accountability with private corporations."

Two different studies give some support to Liberles' contention. A broad survey by the Urban Institute, studying changes from private to public as well as public to private services, suggested that any change or even threat of change often shook up old practices and led to better management. Likewise, Peter Brown, former staff director of a Minneapolis-based group called Public Service Options, concluded that public services were improved when provided through flexible programs with numerous options. Originally PSO was strongly tilted toward private contracting. "What we need are choices," Brown says. "We don't need privatization."

Several studies claim that bad public administration, political patronage and lack of standards for evaluating public work contributes to higher cost of public agencies over private contractors. Columbia Business School professor E.S. Savas concluded from a study of 315 medium-sized cities that private refuse contractors hauled trash for 30 to 35 percent below city costs. Contractors typically used two-person crews instead of three, and newer, more productive equipment and cut absenteeism nearly in half, he says.

However, the Urban Institute study

found no conclusive evidence that private contracting is cheaper. Most assessments of lower contract costs are made superficially, and without assessment of quality, the Institute reported. Although some studies show private contractors cheaper, others report no difference or a cost advantage for public service.

Criticisms justified.

AFSCME officials contend that private contractors always offer unrealistically low prices to start in order to get the business from a city or state, then steadily jack up the price in years to come. Also, contractors often burden governments with cost overruns or extra charges for unexpected problems that public employees would routinely handle.

Other comments in the recent report also support some of the AFSCME criticisms of contracting:

- "Many [local government representatives] indicated that they contracted to avoid such problems as a constant stream of citizen complaints and requests for service."

- "Corruption remains a real danger."

- "Officials in several governments mentioned that they turned to contracting in the social services because they were afraid that federal funding would be cut back, and they felt it would be easier, and less sensitive politically, to adjust to such cutbacks if services were contracted, than it would be if public employees were directly affected."

- "Several officials noted that regardless of costs, it was politically advantageous to reduce their payrolls by contracting."

As contracting grows in popularity, more national firms are replacing local entrepreneurs. The Urban Institute predicts that four to six corporations will soon consolidate control over the trash hauling business. Giant corporations such as Boeing, Northrup and Litton, for instance, picked up contracts for military maintenance work and computer operations in the social service agencies of the federal government when lucrative defense contracts declined at the close of the Vietnam war.

Seeing big bucks in such work for the future and predisposed for decades to the proposition that "the private sector should retrieve all those functions it lost during the New Deal," businessmen and their lobbying groups fuel public hostility to public workers in order to fatten their pockets, says Greg Kenefick of the American Federation of Government employees. Even Savas, despite his belief that in many but not all cases private contracting of waste hauling is more efficient, is embarrassed that "a lot of right-wing folks have clutched our findings to their bosom."

Fighting back.

Public employee unions often have a difficult time bucking the contracting trend. The St. Louis AFSCME local has defeated three efforts to knock out of the city charter a provision against contracting traditional civil service jobs. Their leaflets, ads and other political work won in the referendum with strong support from blacks and moderate backing from blue-collar whites despite a 70 percent vote in favor of contracting in middle-class white neighborhoods. Some other unions supported AFSCME only lukewarmly since private contracting might have meant jobs for their members.

In New York, Rick Izzo, president of AFSCME Local 375, representing professional and engineering workers, successfully stopped the wholesale contracting of consulting work characteristic of the Lindsay administration by applying political pressure on Mayor Beame and by demonstrating at public hearings on all contracts over \$10,000 that city workers could do the job for less.

Elsewhere, public employee unions have turned to the community for support, gone to court, filed grievances and unfair labor practice charges, fought for restrictions on contracting in their negotiations, lobbied politicians they've supported and threatened strikes. "We just use whatever we can to protect our people," Liberles says.

In some cases the public employee unions are also making efforts, as ultimately

they must, to make public services more effective. The record of public employees is certainly not spotless. Corruption, not to mention inefficiency, can flourish under a public administration, as Chicago has demonstrated with enduring flair.

At a time when many progressive local and state politicians and community groups are looking to municipal enterprises, banks, development agencies and other new institutions as a hope for ailing localities, the effectiveness of public sector efforts is an important consideration. New recycling methods and rising prices can also mean that traditional city functions, especially trash and garbage pick-up, can actually be turned into new

sources of revenue for cities—if private contractors don't get a hammerlock on the work first.

All this underscores the importance of AFSCME efforts to improve public employee effectiveness while defending jobs. In Columbus and Springfield, Ohio, for example, AFSCME is experimenting with a "quality of work life" project that appears to be improving the morale of city workers, giving them more flexibility in their work, maintaining high quality service and possibly reducing costs, by cutting absenteeism, for example.

In New York Izzo suggested establishing a "professional revolving bank" in order to avert layoff of 1,000 of his lo-

cal's 4,000 members last year. By shifting staff from their usual departments to offices that needed help to meet deadlines, the local blocked contracting, saved the city money, guaranteed success in getting federal grants with tight timetables, protected its jobs and gave city workers broader experience.

The future of progressive local and state policies and certainly of any move toward programs of a socialist cast depends heavily on resistance to the business and conservative attack on public employees and improvement of the quality of government action by increasing public workers' control and responsibility on the job.

GOVERNMENT

Who'll decide census questions?

Jay Kinney

By Carolyn Teague

WASHINGTON

WITH THE 1980 CENSUS LITTLE more than two years away, a move was begun in Congress to make sure the head count doesn't become a financial and statistical disaster.

Storm warnings for the tally rumbled out of preliminary tests conducted in three communities. In Camden, N.J., 50 percent of the residents failed to mail back their completed pre-test census forms—a rate 29 percent higher than the highest nonreturn rate in similar tests before the 1970 census.

Results from the other 1976-77 test areas—Travis County, Tex., and Oakland, Calif.—were not much better.

A nationwide repeat of that performance in 1980 could add as much as \$500 million to the record \$875-million census cost already estimated by the Census Bureau. The cost would escalate from the expense of personal calls and visits needed to follow up and complete unreturned forms.

As in 1970, the next head count will be taken mostly by mail. Forms will go out to almost every household the last week in March 1980. Recipients will be asked to fill them out and mail them back by Census Day, April 1.

Members of Congress and Census Bureau officials have been concerned about the poor test response and the effect on census cost and accuracy should the trend continue.

Chairman William Lehman (D-Fla.) of the House Post Office and Civil Service subcommittee on Census and Population believes a post-Watergate distrust of government may be largely responsible for the low return rate.

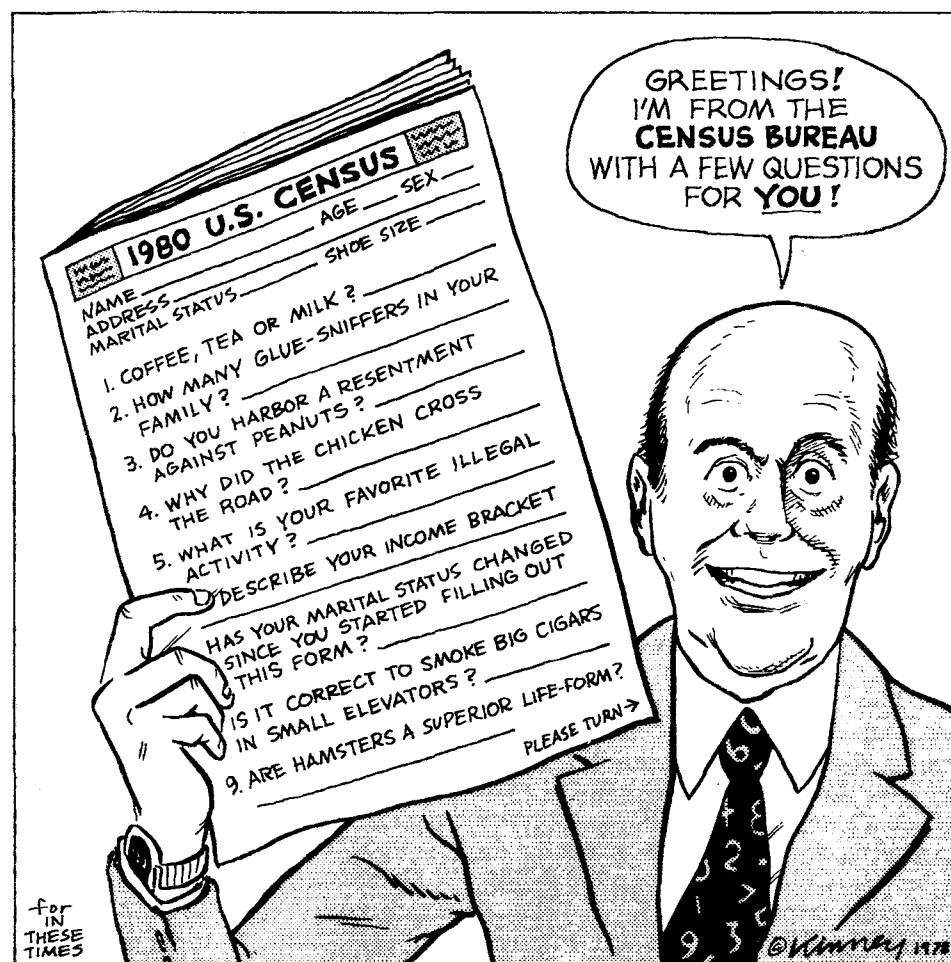
To make the public less suspicious of the census, Lehman has proposed a bill (HR-9623) restricting the basic census form to 11 questions aimed at gathering only information needed to count people and houses.

His proposal would delete several questions on personal income and housing characteristics that the Census Bureau would like to include. Those questions would be used to gather block-by-block data for community planning and for distribution of federal funds to local governments.

Worse still, in the bureau's view, Lehman's bill would lock census questions into a law that only Congress could change. Formulation of those questions should be left to professionals, the bureau has said.

"The pre-tests were disappointing," said Theodore G. Clemence, Census Bureau chief of program and policy development. "But we don't think that's a sufficient reason to start deleting questions."

Despite the bureau's arguments, Lehman insists that "the buck stops with Congress. It is our responsibility to see that



the Census Bureau asks the questions we want them to, not the ones they want."

The Constitution mandates a census every ten years as the basis for appointment of seats in Congress. Until 1929, Congress wrote a separate act for each census, specifying subjects to be covered.

A permanent census act passed in 1929 was more general, leaving subject matter to the Census Bureau through its parent agency, the Department of Commerce. The bureau had control over what questions were asked until the 1976 Mid-decade Census Act gave Congress power to approve them.

The census remained the concern primarily of statisticians until the burgeoning population-based federal grant programs in the 1960s.

By 1976 a total of 38,000 local government units were receiving \$56 billion annually in 120 federal programs allocated, at least in part, on population counts.

Although a correct count is essential to groups trying to win government grants, all decennial censuses and interim surveys have undercounted the actual number of U.S. residents.

In the 1970 census, which set the U.S. population at 203,235,298, the Census Bureau estimated the undercount at 2.5 percent nationwide. In other words, more than five million persons were "missed." But in areas such as large cities where hard-to-count minorities gathered, the undercount rate was even higher. An estimated 7 percent of all blacks and 18 percent of all young black males were not counted.

That meant loss of federal money to the governments where minorities lived

and to minority members themselves. One unofficial congressional survey, using a National Urban League formula, estimated that Philadelphia would have lost \$6 million in federal funds in five years as a result of the 7 percent undercount of blacks.

Four minority groups and five cities tried unsuccessfully to sue the Census Bureau for discrimination in the 1970 census. The bureau received 1,900 complaints of inaccurate counts and it made 600 rec-counts.

Lehman's bill limits basic questions to one each on: name, address, age, birth date, sex, heritage, number of dwelling units per building, number of rooms per unit, whether the building was constructed pre-1940, and names and addresses of nonresidents in the unit on census day.

Census Bureau officials have made clear that they still oppose many major provisions of the House and bill and that they will work for legislation that leaves administrative details in the hands of the Secretary of Commerce.

Despite that, Lehman and Census subcommittee staff felt at the close of the 95th Congress' first session that "no significant roadblocks" stood in the way of the bill's passage early in 1978.

"This is not the sexiest question before Congress, so it is kind of hard to get a handle on how members feel," said Lehman. "But as they see how the bill affects distribution of congressional seats and forces the Census Bureau to deal with enumeration and the escalating cost of the census, they will take a much more profound interest."

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CITIES

Newark struggling to rebuild

By Rufus Dabney & T.D. Allman

NEWARK, N. J.

FOR THOSE URBAN LEADERS now facing the possibilities of another harsh winter of record-cold temperatures and fuel shortages, Newark mayor Kenneth A. Gibson, chief executive of America's third-oldest incorporated city, has some words of long-term optimism.

Mayor Gibson, a nationally known spokesman for inner cities and their inhabitants, believes the very energy crisis that paralyzed many northeast and mid-western cities last winter has given America's older, energy-efficient communities a new lease on life.

"Unlike suburbs and sprawling shopping centers and industrial parks," says Gibson, "America's inner cities are not wasteful of scarce energy and fuel. They help conserve energy with everything from apartment house living to the use of public transportation." Gibson predicts that "it is just going to be too expensive not to use America's downtown areas productively and imaginatively if the energy shortage that is forecast continues."

For many Americans Newark seems a city of the past. After a period of rapid industrial development ending in the early 20th century Newark became a case study in urban decay and white middle-class abandonment. Until recently the city—which is hemmed in by affluent suburbs that make no contribution to the city's welfare while still using its cultural and economic facilities—seemed left behind by the automobile age, and the great American migration to the suburbs and the Sunbelt.

Mayor Gibson, however, has never seen things that way. Calling Newark "the city of the future," not the past, he often has predicted that newer cities like Houston and Atlanta will face all of Newark's problems in the long run too, if America does not make a national commitment to putting the inner cities back on their feet.

Energy crisis brought hope.

Today Gibson sees hopeful new signs in Newark for the future of America's cities.

"If you had asked me what I saw as the future of Newark before the 1973 oil crisis," Gibson said in a recent interview, "I would have answered pessimistically. Today things are different. This city has a future."

The mayor of Newark is banking on high gasoline prices, drastic increases in suburban utility bills and the attractive prices of many inner city properties to reverse the middle-class exodus—both white and black—from his city. He also counts on soaring capital costs for new exurban development to make rehabilitation of inner city industrial areas attractive to business and industry.

For the mayor of what has been called "America's worst city," the return of the middle class—which has already begun in many old New Jersey towns on the west bank of the Hudson River opposite New York City—is the hidden social irony of the energy crisis.

Gibson still thinks racial phobias were the chief reason for white flight from Newark in the 1950s and 1960s. He adds that it is the pocketbook, not changed social attitudes, that accounts for the increasing numbers of formerly suburban whites who now are moving into apartments and restoring old houses in Newark.

"I must point out the future of the city has been forced by the energy crisis," Gibson emphasizes. "Not by enlightenment, mind you, but by force of economic circumstance."

Because of his national prominence among big-city mayors, Gibson's insights

Today, more than a decade after the Newark riots, the city is an example of what black leadership can do, but it is also an example of the overwhelming problems inner city mayors, whatever their race, still face. But Newark is moving in the right direction, says Mayor Kenneth Gibson (right).

carry a great deal of weight—both with his fellow urban leaders and with the Carter administration.

During the 45th annual U.S. Conference of Mayors in Tucson last June Gibson—who recently served a term as president of that 750-member organization—denounced President Carter's welfare reform package as "vague." He warned his fellow mayors "not to allow ourselves to be lulled into total approval of the administration's programs because some progress has been made on our urban agenda."

Back from the end of the road.

Gibson has been a national figure ever since 1970, when he became Newark's first black mayor. For many Gibson's 1970 election seemed the end of the line for the city.

In July 1967 Newark had been ravaged by five days of rioting and looting. It left 23 persons dead and caused over \$10 million in property damage. The riots followed demographic trauma that had harmed the city even more. As late as 1960 Newark had been 65 percent white. Just six years later it was 52 percent black and 10 percent Hispanic.

The newcomers often were poor, homeless and jobless. Those who left Newark took with them investment capital, business opportunities and sources of municipal tax revenue. In 1967 Newark's property taxes were twice as high as many surrounding suburbs and Newark seemed the most conspicuous example in the U.S. of an inner city that rapidly was becoming "brown, black and broke."

In spite of the city's black majority the 1969 U.S. Riot Commission noted, "the white population nevertheless retained political control of the city. Led by former mayor High Addonizio, Newark's white minority government was widely regarded as incompetent, unresponsive and utterly corrupt. By 1970 Addonizio had been convicted on extortion-conspiracy charges and the era of white-dominated machine politics in Newark was over. Gibson, one of America's first black big-city mayors, at that time was often likened to the caretaker of a graveyard."

Today, more than a decade after the Newark riots, the city is a premier example of the unexpected successes America's black urban leadership have achieved—and a case study too in the overwhelming problems inner city mayors, whatever their race, still face everywhere.

"Newark now is moving in the right direction," says Gibson. "We still have problems with housing, especially in the middle-class price range, but we are working on that problem too."



David Seavey

Though he is seeking property tax reductions Gibson concedes that Newark taxes are still among the highest in the country. He sees little chance of radically changing the situation as long as Newark's independent suburbs refuse to share revenue with the inner city, on which they still largely depend for urban amenities. In spite of the municipal budgetary squeeze created by inflation and the limited tax base Newark has maintained city services, attracted new industry and managed to keep its budget balanced.

A bad image because of race.

"I think Newark was given a bad image because of its racial make-up," Gibson says. "It took ten years for the former administration to admit that this city was predominantly black. It was hidden in order to maintain the false hope that the white population wouldn't know because it was never mentioned officially that Newark had become a predominantly black city."

Gibson argues that the black population of Newark is still undercounted—and that this costs the city millions of dollars in federal and state funds. The 1975 census estimate, for example, placed Newark's population at 340,000 people. But Gibson believes Newark's population is 400,000—now about 60 percent black and 14 percent Spanish-speaking.

Now that white flight has ended one of Gibson's major jobs—ironic for a black leader—is luring the middle class back into the city. "We must bring back the middle class of all races in Newark," the mayor says. "We have stabilized the middle class we have and consequently halted the flight to the suburbs."

Although he predicts the economics of the energy crisis will lead many commuters to return to live in Newark Gibson has geared his administration for providing other incentives for middle class return as well. These include:

- Increasing public services such as street-sweeping, fire protection and health care. Newark once led the nation in fire-related deaths and had high rates of tuberculosis and infant mortality. Recent studies show dramatic improvements in all those fields.

- Reducing tax rates as much as possible in order to attract new residents and business, while enhancing Newark's position as a center of higher education. Newark now is the site of the New Jersey School of Dentistry and Medicine, of Seton Hall Law School, of Essex County College and a new branch of Rutgers University. A major gas and electric company recently reversed its plans to leave Newark and instead is considering a \$30 million

expansion of its facilities in the city.

- Increasing state and federal assistance to combat a municipal unemployment rate estimated at 17 percent—twice the national average. Youth unemployment, according to Gibson, is "somewhere between 40 and 45 percent" in Newark. Yet the New Jersey State Legislature, which only recently imposed a permanent state-wide income tax, continues to prevent Gibson from imposing a city residence requirement for public employees.

- Exploiting Newark's unique advantages as a convergence point of regional air, sea and rail transport systems. Newark's deep water port, one of the best in the world, is being improved. Newark International Airport is the most modern in the New York metropolitan area and Gibson has argued that the controversial supersonic airliner Concorde should land at Newark.

"Newark is a major part of the largest metropolitan area in the world—the New York City, New Jersey and Connecticut area," Gibson says. "The fact remains that New York needs Newark. New York eats because of the trucks that come in from Newark. Wall Street," he contends, "is not efficient because of the sprawl. Newark is efficient because all the main modes of transport and commerce and industry converge here—railroads, sea and air. In the future Newark will be in the center of things."

Yet despite the optimism Newark still faces problems ranging from crime to racial tension. What really dogs the city's hopes for the future, says Gibson, is a sluggish economy that can be fully revived only by more equitable redistribution of city, state and federal financial burdens—and above all by national economic policies giving inner cities the same range of economic incentives presently given the suburbs and the sunbelt.

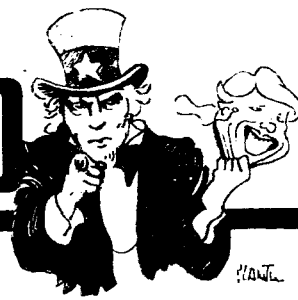
"Basically," Gibson concludes, "the function of city government is most unglamorous. It's our job to sweep the streets, collect the garbage, provide basic law and order. But until we have an equitable system of nationalized welfare and metropolitan tax equalization, cities like Newark are going to be saddled with all the problems the rest of our society ignores."

(© Pacific News Service)

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IN THE WORLD

EUROPE



Carter vetoes Eurocommunism

By Diana Johnstone

P A R I S

AFTER A YEAR OF RELATIVE discretion, the Carter administration has publicly vetoed Eurocommunism. "Veto" was the word in headlines in Italy and France announcing the ukase simultaneously issued in Washington and Rome Jan. 12. The Empire does not wish to see the voting errors of the subjects of its more unruly provinces reflected in their government. But this is only an "opinion," the Empire's spokesmen claimed modestly.

As a competitor in the market-place of ideas, Washington's "opinion" has the advantage of being backed by major investment institutions, the International Monetary Fund, NATO, the CIA...and Europeans' imaginative fears of the Chilean-style coup being conjured up for them in trans-Atlantic think tanks.

The Italian socialist-leaning daily *La Repubblica* suggested that when the State department spoke of "non-interference" in Italian affairs, perhaps it meant a promise not to land the Marines at Naples.

Le Monde was reminded of "Brezhnev's famous sentence in 1968 said to be the basis for the Soviet doctrine of limited sovereignty: 'We cannot remain indifferent to the fate of socialism in other countries.'" Certainly *Le Monde* continued, "there is no question of intervening in the way Warsaw Pact forces did to restore 'true socialism' to Czechoslovakia. Anyway, the U.S. has other means of putting pressure on a country as far in debt as Italy. But its plea for democracy sounds odd along with such interference."

Il Manifesto concluded: "Eurocommunism has served up to now to destabilize Western European regimes and bind their ruling classes more closely to Washington during the course of the economic crisis. Now the results have been achieved. In France the bridge has been laid down between Giscard and Mitterrand. All that remained was Italy, until yesterday used as a hobgoblin to blackmail the bourgeoisie in other European countries. The (Jan. 12) intervention is the closing move in a long, hard-fought game."

"Back to Yalta" was the headline on the front page editorial in the right-wing Paris daily *Aurore*: "A page has been turned. The Communists who went all out to achieve power by legal means now know that it is impossible."

Commentators hastened to note that the Carter administration had even outdone its predecessors in minding Europe's business by voicing its humble preference for a "reduction of Communist influence" in Western Europe.

An indulgent grandfather.

Moscow seemed ready to help. Washington's clarifications coincided with a new attack on Eurocommunism by the Soviet foreign policy review *Novoye Vremya*. The famous "human rights" campaign (which reached its climax when Carter, in Teheran, discovered that the Shah of Iran shared his views on the subject) has apparently served one purpose: to reinforce the Soviet Union's vigilant hostility to any alteration of the political status quo in Europe.

In France, where illusions of national independence die hard, there was a chorus of protest over "inadmissible interference" in European affairs. But in Italy, as *Il Manifesto* put it in a headline, the political parties, including the Communist Party (PCI), "are pretending they didn't quite hear Carter's veto."



President Jimmy Carter and French President Giscard d'Estaing look out Jan. 5 over Omaha beach, the scene of the June 1944 landing. Top right: *Le Monde* cartoon of Carter after Italy statement.

In France there was a chorus of protest over Carter's "inadmissible interference" in Europe's affairs. But in Italy, the Communists are pretending they didn't quite hear Carter's veto.

be listening to his prompter. The politicians must go on acting out the play of "democratic parliamentary government" even as rotten tomatoes shower the stage and the audience walks out of the theater.

With all the indignation of an indulgent grandfather who has just been kicked in the shins by a favorite grandson, PCI "foreign minister" Gian Carlo Pajetta reminded Mr. Carter that he was put in office by only 25 percent of his electorate (aluding to the low voter turnout in the U.S.) compared to the 34 percent of the Italian electorate backing the PCI. Significantly, the point stressed by the PCI newspaper *Unita* was not that the U.S. was wrong to interfere, but that it had interfered in the wrong way.

The American leaders "obviously had a right to their opinion," *Unita* said, but their evaluations and positions "appear seriously mistaken and based on wishful thinking." They say they want good government in Rome, but expecting to achieve this laudable aim with the same people who have been running things up to now "means understanding little or nothing about Italy." *Unita* deplored this "obvious contradiction" in the State department position.

Indeed, since Jimmy Carter took office, the PCI seems actually to have been seeking U.S. "interference" in the form of pressure on the Christian Democratic party (DC) to carry out the "historic compromise." The current economic crisis, which appears impossible to solve without a major structural overhaul of the economy, seems to call for a modernization of the Italian state. In 30 years of paralyzing stagnation, the Christian Democratic government has failed to carry out the necessary reforms. The PCI's "historic compromise" with the DC implies streamlining public administration and tossing out large numbers of parasites.

Not surprisingly, the DC shows no interest whatsoever in letting go of an inch of its spoils system power base. Might it not be urged to do so in the interests of the system itself? The inefficiency and wastefulness of the archaic system embodied by the DC are no secret to the modern sectors of capitalism, including the Americans.

Carter for continuing mess.

It has been widely assumed that the Carter administration generally prefers a "social democratic" or "center left" solution over rightist or military rule. Carter just endorsed the "center left" solution in France, even though it is still quite theoretical, since the Socialists claim they will have no part of it. In Italy, on the other hand, a "center left" coalition is available...with the PCI. The PCI has gone farther than the French Socialists in accepting the "austerity" and the rules of the game as laid down by the International Monetary Fund. Furthermore, there is virtually no other plausible governing alternative in sight.

This seems to be what the PCI has been patiently trying to tell the U.S. over the past year. The only people it seems to have convinced are its harshest left-wing critics (those generally considered to the left of *Il Manifesto*), who are so persuaded of capitalism's logical need to turn to the PCI to help "manage the crisis" and restructure Italy according to the requirements of the "new international order" of labor that they have been willing to

Washington's "no" for an answer. Some think it is just part of a smokescreen behind which the PCI is working out details of its "betrayal."

The reasoning of U.S. policy-makers may be quite different. For one thing, they seem always to have doubted that the PCI could deliver the goods. Thus in an important article in the *Washington Post* way back on May 30, 1976, former Undersecretary of State and star Trilateral Commission member George Ball disputed "the widely held argument that the Communists are needed to restore Italy's flagging economy." Ball conceded that for a while they might try to arrange a respite from industrial strife, and noted the PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer's statements about the need to work and the competitiveness of Italian industry were "beguiling stuff for some Italian industrialists."

"Yet," he said, "even though the Communists might make a show of reliability for a brief period, that does not mean either that they could effectively control Italian workers over the long pull or that they would be prepared to go very far down that road. Italian labor today is the most militant in Europe and within its ranks are strong extremist elements."

Events of the past year have tended to confirm such doubts about the PCI's ability to impose unpopular policies on its constituency. Continued political confusion may appear a more effective way to demoralize the PCI's labor base and weaken the capacity of the Italian working class to defend itself against structural changes imposed by international capital.

A purely economic approach to the Italian crisis may be the most important factor in determining the future of the country. (Continued on page 12)

BRITAIN

Lucky Jim puts out the firemen

By Mervyn Jones

LONDON

THE FALL OF 1977 SAW BRITISH trade unions—both individually and by majority vote at the Trades Union Congress—proclaiming a return to free collective bargaining and rejecting the Callaghan government's 10 percent ceiling on wage claims. An uncomfortable winter seemed more than likely. But, with the phenomenal luck that has smiled on him since he became Prime Minister, Callaghan has escaped any effective challenge. Even the mild weather this January seemed to be part of the Lucky Jim syndrome.

The sole outright challenge has come from the Fire Brigades Union, on strike since Nov. 14. It was an awkward moment; public support for the firemen was strong and there was a distinct feeling among property-owners that the country couldn't carry on without effective fire protection. The toll has indeed been heavy—last week, a major hotel in Glasgow burned to the ground (fortunately without loss of life). But, making a cool calculation, Ministers reckoned that the strike could not be won by a small union like the FBU.

The union has no strike fund, and sympathetic donations from the public have proved no substitute. Over Christmas, firemen found themselves in grave financial difficulties. Tough action by welfare authorities increased the strain. Wives and families of strikers are entitled to welfare aid, but the amounts are discretionary and the bare minimum was handed out.

The strike could have been won only through firm support—in the dual form of political pressure and financial aid—from the TUC. The FBU appealed to the TUC to launch a campaign against the 10 percent ceiling, to which of course it is officially opposed. It was easy to translate this appeal into the two words: "Help us." The General Council of the TUC declined, showing that its opposition to the wage freeze would remain theoretical.

The strike demand was for a 30 percent raise. The government offered 10 percent, plus a promise that firemen's wages will be raised in stages to reach parity with skilled workers by November 1979 and will be maintained at that level thereafter. Firemen saw this offer as pie in the sky, especially because Tory spokesmen soon made it clear that if their party is in office by 1979 it won't be bound by the Callaghan pledge.

The offer was rejected at local meetings and also by the FBU executive. But the TUC's attitude, and firm statements by Ministers that it was their last word, forced reconsideration. TUC general secretary Len Murray made a speech describing the offer as fair and urging the firemen to accept it. On Jan. 6 the FBU executive bowed to the inevitable, announcing that it was summoning a delegate conference at which it would recommend acceptance.

Half a century has passed since the General Strike, but the effect of that historic defeat remains: no TUC leadership will face a showdown with a government determined to stand firm. We learned that in 1971, when the TUC refused to back a strike by postal workers (also a small union without a strike fund) despite paper denunciations of the anti-labor policy of the Tory government then in power. After struggling on for three months, the postmen had to give in. Now the firemen are in the same spot.

A legacy of deep bitterness is certain, and there are reports of firemen all over the country leaving the service to seek other jobs. For Callaghan, that will be

The firemen were forced to settle when the trade unions didn't want a showdown with James Callaghan's Labour government. With a miners strike unlikely, Callaghan is riding high.

easily outweighed by the political triumph.

Miners don't strike.

Meanwhile, the threatened strike by miners—and that would have been a far more formidable challenge, since the National Union of Mineworkers is a major and a wealthy union—has also been averted. The miners had voted to reject the Coal Board's offer of a graded productivity bonus related to output, and to press for a substantial across-the-board wage increase. The way of escape for the Board was this: the majority in the ballot was secured by heavy votes in the big districts (Wales, Scotland and Yorkshire) but a majority of *districts* voted for acceptance.

So the Board—with the connivance of some NUM leaders in no mood for a strike—went ahead and introduced the bonus scheme where it was locally acceptable. The effect was to set one district against another. Miners in Nottingham pits, for instance, were soon putting an extra 23 pounds (\$40) a week in their pockets by meeting the productivity conditions, while those working in Yorkshire a few miles across the county line (including men who live in the same villages) were stuck at their old rates.

Miners at a large Scottish pit, where the seams are easy and extra output presents few problems, rebelled against their district leadership and demanded a produc-



tivity deal. Scotland's NUM leaders, who are Communists and a regular target for the press, had to reverse their stand. Wales has followed suit. In Yorkshire, the militant district secretary, Arthur Scargill, has declared that he still detests the productivity plan but won't allow his members to take home lower wages than miners elsewhere. But a strike for a wage increase by Yorkshire miners alone, with other pits still working and meeting demand, would clearly be ineffective.

The long-term consequences of the productivity system, especially on health and safety, may well be unhappy. The unity of the miners, based on national wage rates, is jeopardized; we may see a return to the old days when miners migrated from county to county in search of better wage-packets. The next NUM conference will surely produce a fierce dispute, since the leaders have clearly reneged on a ballot decision. But again, the news is good for a government whose purpose is to restore its weakened authority and to survive until a favorable moment for an election.

For Tory leader Margaret Thatcher, the news is as bad as it could be. She has to watch a Labor government keeping the workers in line with a success of which she can only dream. Recently the political commentator of the arch-Tory *Sunday Telegraph* rammed home the lesson

with this heartless verdict:

"Labor includes in its ranks a significantly higher proportion of rulers with an instinct for government than does the Conservative party... Labour looks now both steady and astute, realistic and ruthless."

Thatcher has reacted by announcing her belief in free collective bargaining. A Tory government, she has said in a recent speech, would set no wage ceilings and would not intervene in negotiations between employers and unions, confining itself to limiting the money supply. We are all laughing. This policy, unlikely in the nature of things to win over left-wing voters, is equally unlikely to be popular with employers and the business community, who know that in modern conditions they need the authority of the state to check union strength.

Callaghan is now saying for public consumption that he has no plans for an early election. But a by-election in a London district narrowly held by Labour (it would have produced a Tory triumph in the dark days of 1976 or early 1977) is due in March. If the result is satisfactory, it could influence Callaghan to call a national poll. An astute leader knows how to seize the occasion. Luck has held so far, but things can always go wrong. ■

Mervyn Jones writes for the *New Statesman* and is *IN THESE TIMES'* regular correspondent from Britain.

SPAIN

Basque nationals take to streets

By Barbara Mann Franck

THE BASQUE REGION OF NORTHERN Spain is once again the scene of violence and strikes, which have followed rapidly upon a Dec. 30 government decree granting limited home rule to the heavily industrialized region.

On Jan. 12, the *Guardia Civil* shot and killed two members of the separatist ETA organization (Basque Homeland and Liberty) during an intensive search for those responsible in recent ETA bombings and attacks on police headquarters. Early press reports stated that police killed the youths by firing on them point-blank after they had fallen wounded.

A government minister later censored all newspapers carrying this unofficial version of the incident, in which a policeman was killed.

A busy session of the Spanish *Cortes* (parliament) broke up when word of the incident reached it. In succeeding weeks, Basques responded with strikes, work stoppages and frequent demonstrations to protest police action. Demonstrators chanted "ETA, the people are with you," and "The fascists are the terrorists," as

they ran through the capitals of Spain's four Basque provinces.

The Basque nationalist movement is well integrated into the working class struggle here. Basque capitalists, unlike most of their Catalan counterparts, are centralists and were among Franco's most important backers. The nationalist struggle coincides with the struggle against economic oppression and enjoys broad working class support among the Basques.

ETA attacks and bombings are timed to prevent innocent victims. Their usual targets are police and capitalists. Accompanying statements normally call for the dissolution of Spain's repressive forces, Basque self-determination and an end to economic and political injustice.

Although *ETA militar* (sometimes called *ETA-V*, for the Fifth Assembly of 1966 and 1967 from which it developed) is small and its tactics are denounced by most left political parties, the Basques have demonstrated unified, militant opposition to all police repression and violence. A massive amnesty campaign last spring obtained the release (into exile) of most Basque political prisoners, many of them ETA activists.

Funerals for the two ETA members attracted crowds of 2,000 and 7,000 to the

small villages of their birth, where 13 priests—including the brother of one of the dead youths—said one of the funeral masses. The latter referred in his sermon to "those who have fallen in the struggle."

But in contrast, only 1,000 persons and six priests attended the funeral mass for the policeman. The despised *Guardia Civil* is purposely composed of non-Basques and functions like an occupation force.

The Basque autonomy decree establishes an executive council headed by a president to be elected by council members—and not appointed by Spanish premier Adolfo Suarez, as was the case with Catalonia's President Tarradellas. The council will eventually take on some of the functions of the provincial ministries of the central government.

Except for a more democratic selection of the region's president, the Basque plan differs little from Catalonia's. In both cases the central government reserves the right to suspend regional governments for "security reasons." Basques and other regions have complained they are unable to go beyond the outlines of the Catalan decree in their negotiations with the government. ■

(© Iberian News Service)

ETHIOPIA

With the Eritrean Popular Front

*GERARD CHALIAND WENT TO ERITREA LAST spring and wrote a report on his stay there. Chaliand is author of the recently published **Revolution in the Third World** and of books on Vietnam, the Palestinians, and Angola. In the first part, Chaliand sketched the historical background; in the second part he describes what he saw in Eritrea. The translation is by Helene Ibert.*

On the Eritrean side of the border with Sudan, there is hardly any problem in entering Ethiopian territory. The Popular Liberation Front of Eritrea (FPLE), which dominates the area, takes charge of visitors, who needn't even climb down from their Land Rovers to give their name and nationality. After going through this formality at night, we were able to drive about 12 miles an hour and arrived the next morning in the heart of the Province of Sahel, where the rear-line base of the FPLE is located. The base is surrounded by a landscape of deep valleys and massive totally eroded mountain chains, ochre under a blue sky, where nomads herd their camels.

The base is spread over 18 miles, and is divided into different sections. All housing is dug into the mountainsides and supported with stones, so that it is invisible 60 yards away. Perhaps a thousand refugees live in four villages reconstructed and hidden under a forest of eucalyptus. These underground houses, built by the guerillas themselves, are clean and furnished with wooden beds. Adults and children alike take classes in writing and the history, geography and politics of Eritrea. In one kindergarten, several hundred war orphans are divided into two age groups. Near there, in a school, some hundreds of girls and boys from seven to 15 years old listen to classes in first, second and third level Tigrinya and Arabic.

Well-furnished caves.

In another valley, a thousand young girls and boys constitute the "avant-garde" camp. All are literate and receive military training and political education, as well as general education courses. They organize a small party for us and present several different dances as proof of their desire to integrate all the elements of the Eritrean ethnic mosaic. Most of these young people joined the Popular Front around 1975, when the organization founded in 1970 as a left splinter from the Eritrean Liberation Front (FLE), got its second wind. The majority left for the mountains in the wake of the terror that the Ethiopian army spread in Asmara and its surroundings in 1974 and early 1975. Many of them did so without their parents' knowledge.

Young women, Muslims as well as Christian, are very numerous and participate in every activity. Contrary to most of the liberation movements, which often have only a symbolic contingent of female militants or "heroines," the FPLE counts nearly a third of its troops in women. Within a climate of puritanism and camaraderie, sexual equality is always emphasized.

The military also offers a 5,000-volume library where one can find from the card files all the classics of political literature in English, Arabic, Italian and French, as well as several encyclopedias, among them the *Britannica*. The Department of Information reproduces four monthly reviews that are distributed internally as well as sent abroad. One of the Front's five hospitals, with 14 doctors, 60 trained nurses and 500 medical assistants, is also located on this base.

Almost 1,000 guerilla laborers work in well-furnished caves here. A metallurgy section manufactures all kinds of parts,

and a smelter treats aluminum scrap from destroyed airplanes and copper from old bullets. Aluminum filings are also collected here. The Eritreans' ingenuity, concern for wasting nothing, and determination to be self-sufficient remind one of the Vietnamese. The arsenal also has a workshop where the guerillas repair gun butts and rebuild or check material captured from the enemy—bazookas, mortars and machine guns.

Carpenters build all kinds of school furniture, and operating room tables. A sewing department, with 25 sewing machines and five whip-stitchers, is in charge of making uniforms using thousands of yards of material deposited in a nearby warehouse. Meanwhile, leather-workers manufacture carrying kits and belts. Another workshop specializes in radio, electronics, and time-keeping equipment.

Dozens of transmitters, transistors and watches are spread out at each work station. Qualified professionals, workers given rapid training over the last 18 months, and apprentices, all work ten hours a day.

Nacfa siezed.

Nights are cold in Nacfa, at the very center of the province of Sahel, on the heights of the northern mountain range. The cave where we slept was full of war booty—and fleas. In the morning we could see the big town, abandoned by its inhabitants since the beginning of a six-month long siege, lying at the bottom of the valley, 2 miles long and 1.5 miles wide, overhung by two large hills and a small one.

Retrenched on these mountain heights, the Ethiopians, who number about half a thousand, under the command of a colonel, have kept up a bitter resistance against the soldiers of the Popular Front. But their position fell in spite of the fact that their provisions were assured by airlifts, and the fresh troops that were parachuted in about 20 miles away.

The troops never got to Nacfa. Many of the paratroopers were captured. The battlefields have been cleared out, and only a few machine gun cartridge cases and M-14s remain in the trenches. In one corner, there is a Bible in Amharic.

A few days after the decisive battle of March 22, Radio Baghdad announced the seizure of Nacfa by the FLE, rival to the FPLE and supported by Iraq. After more than three weeks of silence, Lt. Col. Mengista Haile Mariam, Ethiopia's chief of state, was forced to declare that Sudanese tanks had overrun the position.

"Ethiopian government will deny everything."

A long line of 200 Ethiopian prisoners in olive drab uniforms comes down the mountain. They sit down in front of us, circled by 15 guerillas armed with kalachnikovs. Speaking Amharic, a member of the Front explains to them that we are making a film for West German television. My partner in the project, Gordian Troeller, asks if anyone speaks English or French and would be willing to answer our questions. One of the prisoners gets up and answers in French. "I am Lieutenant Haile Shibeshi, of Debre Zeit, Shoa. I was taken prisoner March 21, 20 miles from Nacfa. They told us we were



Young woman member of the Popular Liberation Front of Eritrea. Among the FPLE, sexual equality is emphasized and nearly a third of its troops are women.

going to fight against bandits, and that we had to protect the population. We discovered that there were only old people and children in the villages and that everyone was against us.

"I didn't know that Eritrea wanted its independence. We thought that Eritrea belonged to Ethiopia. They told us that the bandits were supported by the Arabs, who wanted the Red Sea, and that it's a religious problem between them and us. Then I understood that it was a matter of nationalism.

"We are well treated and I didn't expect that. The Ethiopian government does not recognize the existence of Ethiopian prisoners taken by the enemy. Our situation is very delicate. If we were to be freed, we would probably be court-martialed."

When we asked Lt. Haile Shibeshi, who graduated from Saint Cyr, if the other prisoners shared his opinion, he translated the question and everyone agreed. One of his companions, Lt. Hagos of the 15th Battalion, stands up: "I don't feel secure at all. I have five children and I don't think we'll be able to leave Eritrea as long as we don't have any guarantees. Otherwise we'll be considered traitors." Corporal Getachew Tasew, also of the 15th Battalion, asks to speak: "Even with your testimony, the Ethiopian government will deny everything."

The Red Cross has been informed of the existence of these prisoners, but has never been authorized to intervene by the government of Addis Ababa. So they remain in the hands of the FPLE. Many of the illiterate among them learn how to read and write, and all of them are given classes on the Eritrean problem. The political lectures are given by women.

Later we will see another camp with 200 prisoners. On the whole, almost 600 Ethiopian military are in the hands of the FPLE, among them the Commander of Afabet, Colonel Abora Tabori.

Afabet falls.

The stronghold of Afabet in the south of Sahel Province fell April 6. It was in vain that some 20 escapees from Nacfa came to the aid of the garrison. We arrived there 36 hours after the fall of this small town. A few corpses, scattered around, haven't yet been buried, and the smell, intensified by the noonday sun, is unbearable. The guerillas gather up material from the wrecked trenches, cluttered with letters, pictures, books, shoes, empty containers, and U.S. AID grains. Here and there, an arm or a leg protrudes from the overturned earth.

Around the trenches, we see thousands of empty cans used by the Ethiopians to warn of the approach of the guerillas during the night. Here more than 200 of the besieged have been killed and another 170 made prisoner.

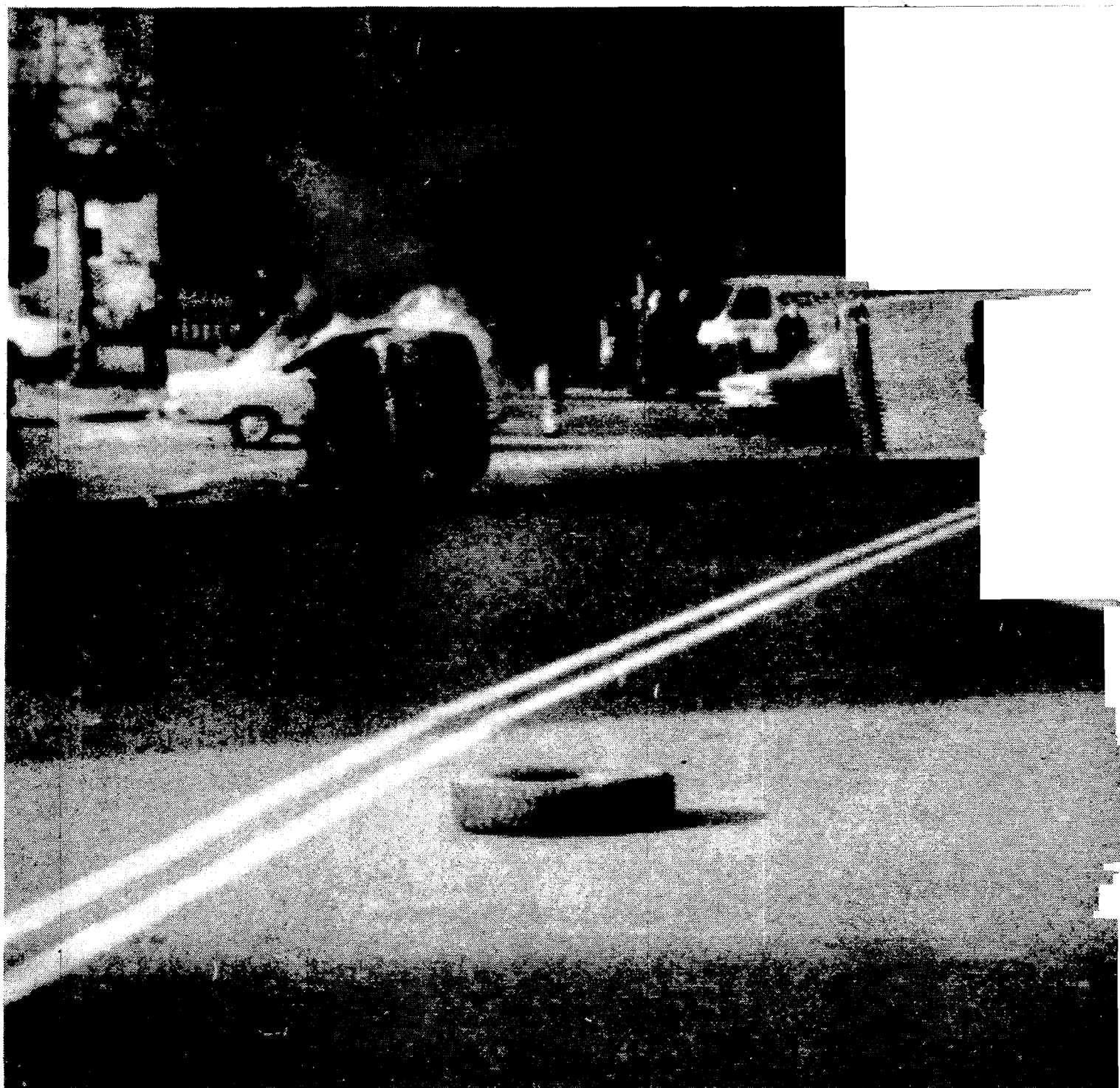
Three days later, the Ethiopians gave up Elabaret, a military post situated 12 miles from Keren and 35 miles from Asmara, without firing a shot. Their departure gave the FPLE control of the strategic route between Asmara and Keren, and as a result Sahel, one of the country's nine provinces, found itself completely "liberated."

Postscript

In later months, after we left, the Eritrean nationalist movement has made much progress. The FPLE has taken Dekamare, the fifth largest city in Eritrea, and Abovol, the second largest. Keren, which was held by 4,000 Ethiopian troops also fell. At present, the Ethiopians are holding only three cities, Asmara, As-sab, and Massawa. The capitol, Asmara, is surrounded by Eritrean nationalists.

At the end of October, the two movements—the FLE and the FPLE—published a communique announcing the formation of a united front. ■

While Rome Burns



- Q. Does Italy have a chance?*
A. Not without the Communists.
Q. Will the Communists enter the government?
A. Probably not.

By Jane Hilowitz

UNDER LEFT PRESSURE THE Christian Democratic (DC) government of Giulio Andreotti, formed in August 1976 with indirect Communist support has been forced to resign. The immediate cause of left discontent with the Christian Democrats has been their failure to implement the middle-range economic program that six parties agreed to last July. In December, four of those parties (Communists, Socialists, Republicans and Social Democrats) announced that under such conditions they could no longer support a "one-color" minority government.

The outcome of the crisis is uncertain. Andreotti has been given the task of forming another single-party DC cabinet, but success is unlikely for the same reasons that the present government was forced to resign. Communists and Socialists want an "emergency government" of all democratic (non-fascist) parties. The Christian Democrats, after much internal squabbling and external pressure from the U.S., reject this.

A compromise solution, if one emerges, will give Communists and Socialists, who make up 44 percent of the electorate, a more active role in the government, if not in the form of Communist cabinet portfolios, at least as part of a parliamentary majority supporting a more representative cabinet. If no solution is reached new

elections will be called, something all parties want to avoid.

Meanwhile, Italy's crisis grows worse by the day. The two most pressing problems a new government will have to deal with are terrorism and the nation's economy.

Gun battle with police.

Political violence—bombings, kidnappings, killings, assaults on party and trade union headquarters—occur almost daily. Groups claiming responsibility for the attacks are both self-proclaimed ultra-leftists (Red Brigades and the Armed Proletarian Nuclei are the two major ones) and neo-fascists (members of the Italian Social Movement, the MSI). Terrorism and violence have been sharply on the rise throughout Italy, but particularly in Rome, Turin and Milan. Two weeks ago in Rome, very young members of the MSI fought a gun battle with the police for the first time. Three MSI members lost their lives. Many neo-fascists in different parts of Italy are currently in jail awaiting trial.

The terrorists are disenfranchised youth of various origin, undoubtedly encouraged by powerful forces furnishing arms. For the time being the population has mostly remained calm, but many are fearful. Short of reintegrating potential terrorists into the political and economic life of the nation, which will be neither easy nor rapid, political violence will only be halted by isolating its perpetrators through

popular condemnation and police action. Terrorism may be Italy's most visible problem, but it is far from the most serious. The economy suffers from fundamental structural problems. In a population of 54 million, 1.69 million are unemployed, 74 percent of the unemployed are under 29 years of age, and one-fourth have a university degree. More than half live in the South, an area of typically heavy unemployment, but many throughout Italy now find themselves unemployed as the result of plant closings. A chemical plant in Sardinia laid off 2,700 workers for six months; 1,600 workers of the huge Montedison complex, with plants all over Italy, will be fired in the next few months. Housing starts decreased by 20 percent in 1977 and in five years employment in construction declined by 310,000; small and medium plants by the dozen are forced either to close or to turn to the government for bail-outs.

The problem affects both private and public enterprise. The government-owned steel mill in Taranto (Italsider) is laying off 6,500 of its 50,000 employees; and the government is now seeking a way to save 5,000 workers' jobs at Unidal (once Alemagna and Motta, famous for cakes and ice cream). The Sardinian chemical plant and Montedison, mentioned above, are both "state participation" companies in which the government is the major shareholder.

Why is this crisis occurring in the industrial sector? One reason is rising production costs, due partly to the gains labor has made since the early '60s, and partly to Christian Democratic mismanagement.

For the Christian Democrats, state-owned or partly state-owned industry represented patronage more than anything else. The goal was to provide jobs at whatever cost, with the result that unit costs soared and bad management proliferated. Alfasud, once the southern star of the Milanese automobile industry, now produces at 50 percent of capacity. Without effective planning, industrial products like those of the vast Sardinian chemical factories, often do not find an outlet.

The Christian Democrats ran the var-



ious ministries and agencies of the public sector along the same lines. Now, in corporatist spirit, the occupants of many unproductive and unnecessary jobs in government hinder attempts to eliminate waste by eliminating their jobs.

De facto nationalizations.

When an industry fails, its workers put pressure on the state to take over the plants and keep them functioning, and Italy is undergoing *de facto* nationalization of many private enterprises. Although major sectors of production were already state-owned or state-controlled, the effect of the current crisis has been to increase massively state intervention in the economy and the state's position as an employer of last resort.

This *de facto* nationalization, with the blessings of neither the state, the political parties or the trade unions, has implications for all three. If the state cannot clean its own house and produce good management both within its own agencies and in its industries, it will pay a political price.

For the trade unions, the major antagonist is now frequently the state. And any party in the government—including the Communists—will have to find a politically acceptable way of pruning industries that currently operate as deficit-producing wards of the state.

The changing nature of the economy defies conventional analysis in terms of a class struggle between capital and labor. The Communist party perception that broad sectors of the population, rather than narrow interests, must take control of the state and make it begin to satisfy their needs is closer to the economic truth. This is the rationale behind Communist insistence on a government based on a broad political spectrum, and on an alliance between the working class and other progressive, anti-fascist sectors of the population. When the Communists consented to buttress a single-party Christian Democratic government from the outside, they did so only after extracting promises that the DC would undertake policies of general benefit. They were prime movers behind the programmatic agreement signed by six parties last July.

The past weeks have seen a proliferation of plans to stave off the further deterioration of Italy's economy. The Confederation of Industrialists and the trade union federation have both presented theirs. Last week members of the six center and left parties, together with the trade unions, set up technical groups for collaboration on some of the major problems, introducing at a lower level the kind of democratic cooperation the Communists have been calling for.

The austerity policy has not yet meant real sacrifices for most Italians. Almost all jobs in Italy have an escalator clause pegged to the rate of inflation, which ran, for 1977 as a whole, at 14.9 percent, compared to 22.2 percent for 1976. Trade unions have attempted to contain demands for wage increases in their contract bargaining sessions. They have agreed that workers who choose to ignore Italy's economic limits are irresponsible and are opening the door to economic and social disintegration and political turmoil. Austerity is justified as necessary to solving the problems of the South and undertaking industrial reconversion.

When the government failed to confront these problems, the working class became increasingly disillusioned. In Rome on Dec. 2, over 100,000 metalworkers demonstrated their discontent with the Christian Democrats and the parties that supported them. For the moment there is close agreement between the unitary trade union federation and the left parties. Collaboration is not guaranteed, however, for the future.

Communist consternation.

As for the Communist party, there are signs of consternation at the section and factory cell level. The party is neither the major party of opposition nor in the government. This has fostered disorientation in the rank and file.

Some party members, confusing short-range tactics and long-range strategy, cannot understand why the party ever supported a DC government. Nor is the need for economic austerity always understood by the base.

The left parties and trade unions have

in fact experienced some loss of control over their members in recent months. Evidence of this are the recent elections in junior and senior high schools, where youth votes for Catholic and right-wing candidates increased sharply. In a recent discussion in the Communist weekly *Rinascita*, a dangerous loss of faith in the ability of politics to bring about change was cited. Within the unions there are also growing corporatist tendencies among some workers, especially during contract negotiations.

The Communist party's politics of alliances has another rationale, particular-

of the Communist party pointed out in rebutting the State department declaration, American anti-communist interference can only help the Communists. The Christian Democratic party, meanwhile, received the declaration with cold embarrassment.

The real problem is not, of course, whether the Communists become part of the Italian government, but whether one political party or any combination of parties can manage to rebuild an economy whose productive base is so fraught with problems. The government formed during this crisis will be called upon to em-



Top: Rome battle between police and neo-fascist MSI on Jan. 7. Bottom: Christian Democrats Aldo Moro, Benigno Zaccagnini, and Premier Giulio Andreotti at Jan 11 meeting in Rome.

ly relevant in the current crisis. The danger of a resurgence of fascism, although not grave, is ever-present in Italy, and only a working class with allies can defend the democratic order. It is felt that even if the left had 51 percent of the vote, this would be no guarantee against rightist subversion without a carefully nurtured politics of alliances.

Italy is at a turning point. The American government, with its Jan. 12 statement, has tried to put a halt to a political situation that has been developing since World War II. But as Gian Carlo Pajetta

bark on a policy of balanced development in all parts of the country and in all sectors of the economy.

Of all parties, the Communists have thought most about how to tackle these immense questions, and they have put some of their understandings to the test in municipal and regional governments. Whatever government comes to power now will do so only with Communist consent and will stand to gain from Communist thinking and experience.

Jane Hilowitz recently returned from Italy.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

The full employment shell game

The partisans of American corporate-capitalism never tire of declaring that Marx is obsolete, but many of them, especially the promoters of the present bipartisan consensus on the economics of employment and inflation, seem unable to avoid confirming two of his basic formulations.

In arguing that substantial levels of unemployment are necessary to profitable investment at relatively stable prices, they confirm Marx's point that a "reserve army of the unemployed" is central to the operation and survival of the capitalist property system.

At the same time, they also confirm the determining role of class conflict in the framing of key policy in modern capitalist society. For their argument hinges on the postulate that the combination of rising prices and falling investment ("stagflation") is capital's "natural" response to the erosion of profits that comes with rising wages as unemployment falls. "Stagflation," that is, is the outcome of the struggle over income shares between capital and labor.

Whether Republicans or Democrats, the bi-partisan consensus makers affirm, rather than seeking to reverse, the long-term tendency toward higher rates of unemployment. Liberal economists like Charles Schultze and Ray Marshall and conservative economists like Arthur Burns and Alan Greenspan are in this respect becoming interchangeable corporate parts.

Since November 1948 (the end of the immediate post-World War II boom), the official unemployment rate has averaged 5.6 percent. It has been rising with each decade: from an average of 4.5 percent in the '50s, to 4.8 percent in the '60s, and 6.2 percent in the '70s. Only during the Korean and Vietnam war years of 1951-53 and 1966-69 did it fall below 4 percent.

Policy has followed the rising rates as faithfully as the Supreme Court is said to follow the election returns. Under Truman the conventional corporate wisdom defined "full employment" as 2.5 to 3 percent unemployment; under Eisenhower, 3 percent; under Kennedy, 4 percent; and now under Carter as with Nixon and Ford, the wisdom mentions 5.5 or 6 percent as a future goal, but endorses the likelihood of higher unemployment rates as from time to time "natural" if capitalism is to remain viable.

To put it bluntly, corporate planning has disowned the goal of full employment. Unable to hit the target, it has simply abolished it.

Fear of inflation.

The demand for justifications of higher unemployment rates has as usual elicited a scholarly supply—by no means value-free, though depreciating with excess. The most popular explanation offered by economists for rising unemployment rates is the changing demographic and skill composition of the labor force—that is, more women, youth, and under-educated nonwhites are looking for jobs (a refreshing change from the quaint old-style complaint that they didn't want them).

But since the continuous structural change in the composition of the labor force has been the hallmark of capitalist development, this argument comes perilously close to conceding that capitalism has reached a stage of incompatibility with further progress in the development of modern society's labor forces. It also suggests that women, young people, and nonwhites are not to expect equality of opportunity and a useful place in American society.

This argument, then, is pedaled softly and can be expected to become a luxury on the marketplace of election-campaigning ideas. The big-ticket item in the sell-

ing of rising rates of unemployment is fear—of inflation.

Stoking the fear of take-off toward sustained full employment as leading only to runaway inflation is intended to convince the American people that their only choice is that between sustained high rates of unemployment and rising prices. The economy, nevertheless, continues to deliver trotting inflation along with unemployment. The fear has been marshalled effectively by the Carter administration in making the Humphrey-Hawkins bill as toothless and ineffectual in committing government policy to a full employment economy as has been the Employment Act of 1946. As *U.S. News & World Report* (Jan. 30) puts it, the bill "has been so watered down that it will have little real impact."

Humphrey-Hawkins' defects.

As now reshaped under administration pressure, the bill affirms the "right" to a job of all Americans who are able and willing to work, but provides for no guaranteed enforcement of that right. It postpones for two years after its passage the President's obligation to present additional jobs legislation, and it projects a "full employment" rate of unemployment as a goal to be achieved in five years. But the President may jettison the five-year timetable if "necessary"—for example, to fight inflation. Since in the foreseeable future this will be necessary, the bill has been made to succumb to the perpetual deferral of hitting, or even finding, the full employment "target."

The heart of the bill, like that of the 1946 Employment Act, lies in the commitment to "free enterprise" as the basis of attaining "full employment" without inflation. Translated, this means that full employment will take a back seat to preserving "free enterprise" and to "fighting inflation."

To corporate planners, "fighting inflation" necessarily means containing wages and enforcing labor discipline ("productivity") through unemployment and thus restricting government spending on job-creating programs. Accordingly, the bill subordinates public sector to private sector employment. But in modern times the private sector, however stimulated by the government, has not created enough jobs. Indeed, since the late '50s, most new jobs have come from the public and nonprofit sectors.

Corporate "anti-inflation" policy,

centering as it does on economic "restraint" and hence substantial unemployment, amounts to the use of state power to underwrite corporate profitability at the expense of labor's income. It is a form of wage control, profit-support, and income distribution freeze, without the overt resort to wage-price controls. It represents state intervention on behalf of capital against labor (and tends, by the way, to corroborate another of Marx's formulations—the class character of the state).

The labor, women's, Afro-American and other movements with a vital stake in a full employment economy, as well as those partisans of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill who undoubtedly want full employment planning, will sooner or later have to come to terms with the contradiction between preserving the priority of the corporate-property ("free enterprise") system and achieving an economy serving human needs, an economy that puts the dignity of *all* individuals at its center and that establishes full employment as a genuine human right.

Reshaping the bill.

This does not mean walking away from the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and sitting on our hands. Rather it means making the bill the occasion for building a broad popular coalition movement to reclaim the bill from its corporate "friends."

In particular, it means making the fight to reshape the bill a key issue in the 1978 congressional elections, and a rallying point around which to struggle against the corporate doctrine that ordains the corporate investment system as a sacred end justifying any means, and making full employment in its fullest social meaning an end requiring appropriate means.

As long as those means do not centrally include "public enterprise," instead of "free enterprise," and democratically-controlled social planning, instead of corporate planning, there is no hope for reestablishing and hitting the full employment target. With "free enterprise" as the sacred given, those who favor and those who need a full employment economy will always be sidetracked and outmaneuvered by the corporate partisans who ply the people with fear of inflation in endlessly deferring full employment.

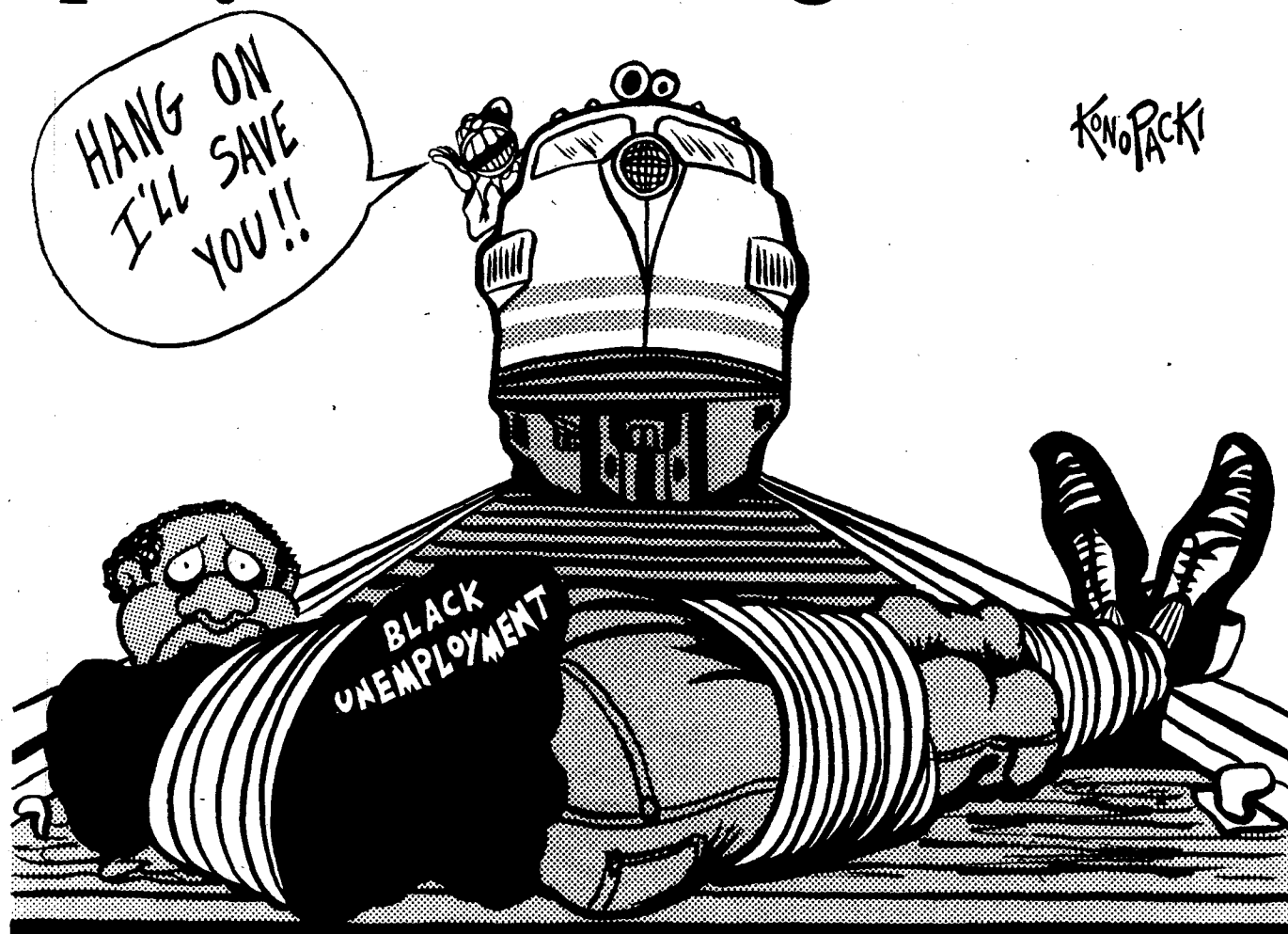
If the Humphrey-Hawkins bill is ultimately to lead to a substantial breakthrough toward economic democracy,

its provisions will have to be reshaped under pressure from a left alternative, with popular and congressional support, that subordinates the corporate investment system to public planning and the expansion of the public sector. That will mean growing public programs in such areas as housing, transportation, health, education, energy, agriculture, and banking; it will mean social control of the investment function, and assumption by the public of industries where capitalists refuse to invest for lack of fat enough profits. If the corporate partisans—liberal and conservative alike—attack it as socialism, then in all candor let us take up the challenge and rely on the good sense of the American people, as well as their interests. Let us have the perspective and stamina to dig in for the long haul rather than rest content with a victory that will be more symbolic than real.

Epoch-making implications.

When the slaveholders in the 1850s howled that the Republican party's position against the extension of slavery meant the eventual end of slavery as a property system, leaders like Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, Harriet Tubman, William Seward, Frederick Douglass, Carl Schurz, and Abraham Lincoln did not flinch from publicly confirming that that was exactly what they had in mind. The implications of a full employment economy under democratic control are no less epoch-making; it calls for no less honesty and audacity from its partisans today. And it requires no less effort in political organization, education, and agitation within and outside of the electoral arena.

There is no use evading the fact that economic democracy guaranteeing full employment does indeed center upon the fundamental restructuring of the property system, or in ordinary English, on the question of capitalism and its values *versus* socialism and its values. It turns on whether the capitalists shall control labor, which is what the control of investment is ultimately all about, or whether the laboring people shall control themselves. Insofar as continuing unemployment, inflation, and working people's loss of self-determination, are among the principal sources of the erosion of democracy in the modern industrial world, evading the socialist alternative is also a betrayal of the fight to sustain and fulfill the American people's democratic aspirations.



Letters

Working class ethnocentrism

IF CHARLIE HAD NOT BEEN willing to cross a picket line then no one could have "set him up." My folks (both workers) taught me early on that no friend of the working class ever crossed a picket line—period!

—Les Baltimore
Huntington, N.Y.

Free speech irrelevant?

NOWHERE ON THIS WRETCHED planet are power and ownership vested in the citizen. In the Soviet Union, a handful of unimaginative, orthodox Stalinists appropriated the people soon after expropriating the expropriators. In the U.S., on the other hand, a citizen is allowed to speak as he pleases since talk does not threaten the well-entrenched oligarchy. What I am driving at is this: freedom of speech was an important political issue when words were a prelude to action. Were the Soviet people allowed the same freedoms we enjoy today, I doubt anything would change in the Soviet Union. A step in the right direction, but an irrelevant one.

What Thomas Jefferson and the rest had in mind was a citizen whose words were important because he was "a free standing yoman." The freedoms of the citizen—whether Soviet or American—are words on paper unless the citizen can exercise these freedoms in action. But to do this means that the citizen has power to make those in authority accountable for their wrongdoings. But only if they own the economic means necessary for survival. Public power and ownership seem to me the important issues for democratic socialists.

Power and ownership in the U.S. are in the hands of the owners and executives of corporate enterprises. The freedoms of the American worker end at the factory and office doors. We elect the millionaires and lawyers that govern us but we can't get our foremen or supervisors off our backs. When the boss decides to shut the plant down and go overseas what good does freedom of speech do? Our elected officials and public servants? They are too busy oiling the machinery for "business as usual."

This quibbling over free speech reminds me of Richard Pryor's line where the young field hand tells the old slave: "They nigger, you don't need to sing no more, we is free... Just pick the cotton!"

—Art Liebrez
Annandale, Va.

More samples, please

THE "RANDOM SAMPLES" (ITT, Jan. 18) were great! I especially appreciated the segments entitled "From the Other Side," and "No Coke for India." My local newspaper doesn't tell me the news like ITT does—which isn't surprising. Keep up the good work, and more "Random Samples," please.

—Larry Remele
Bismark, N.D.

Jewish or not, a great human being

CEDRIC BELFRAGE (ITT, JAN. 11) states that Charlie Chaplin "never quite forgot his poor Jewish origins." There is no evidence of a Jewish background in the Chaplin family tree. His *Autobiography* (1964) refers to his mother as a "regular churchgoer" (Protestant). Chaplin also writes that his grandfather (on his mother's side) was an Irish cobbler from County Cork,

while his grandmother was "half gypsy." Hardly anything is known about his father's family.

True, Chaplin was often called a Jew, sometimes mistakenly but mostly insultingly because of his hatred of fascism and admiration for the Soviet role in World War II. But according to Ivor Montagu, Chaplin's friend, he "refused ever to deny publicly that he was a Jew. He said anyone who denies this in respect to himself plays into the hands of anti-Semites."

One further comment on Belfrage's piece. He considers it a weakness that 20 years after being kicked out of the U.S. by the McCarthyites, Chaplin returned for a visit in 1972, when Nixon was President, to receive the "plaudits of those who stomped on him." Belfrage concludes that this represented "a sad end to a marvelous life" and goes on to admonish us not to expect "great artists to be great human beings. They seldom are."

But Chaplin returned to the U.S. not to receive the applause of his enemies—they continued to hate his guts—but to receive belated recognition of his genius by his peers in Hollywood and New York. How quickly one forgets that during the 20 years Chaplin was away, the country was rocked by the massive black and student anti-racist and anti-war movements of the 1960s, which forced a change in the political climate. His return was a sign of strength, not of weakness.

How can one not see that Chaplin's artistry and steady development as a social satirist—from primitive pie-flinging comedies of 1914 to his mature masterpiece, *Monsieur Verdoux*, in 1947, all on the subject of making a living in a profit-oriented society—stem from his greatness as a human being, warts and all.

—David Platt
Editorial Board member,
Jewish Currents

What the First Amendment really means

SYMPATHIZE WITH JAMES ARONSON's criticisms of the media and the CIA (ITT, Jan. 25). But I was distressed to see Aronson write that "[T]he First Amendment imposes upon all American journalists an obligation to expose all false and misleading information, no matter who the purveyor...." The First Amendment protects journalists' right to expose lies but it imposes no such obligation. Indeed, it imposes no obligation whatsoever on individuals—it commands only the government.

I would hope, with Aronson, that journalists would feel a professional and ethical obligation to tell their readers the truth. However, the First Amendment, especially in political matters, is designed to permit all citizens freely to exchange ideas—even stupid and misleading ideas, on the theory that the antidote to unfair, inaccurate or dangerous speech is not a muzzle but rebuttal.

If the First Amendment did require reporters to tell the truth, reporters would be guilty of unconstitutional behavior for lying. The absurdity of that prospect should make Aronson's error clear. But if not, who would decide when a reporter had not told the truth?

Aronson probably realizes what the First Amendment means. But many of his readers may not. He has done them a disservice.

—William A. Geller
Research Director
Chicago Law Enforcement Study Group

Vanguard liberals?

I APPRECIATE YOUR NEWSPAPER, which fills a long-vacant gap between the sectarian party organs of the left, and the bland, non-controversial news of the commercial press. Not that I agree with all of the articles presented (I definitely do not); however, the broad

spectrum is thought-provoking, and invites the reader to analyze and think. Your coverage of gay, feminist and counter-culture life-styles has been excellent, and I would like to see more of the same.

But I fear, as Dave McReynolds observed nearly a decade ago (WIN, Nov. 1969), the American left is still sexist and homophobic. In contrast, courageous steps have been taken by liberals, such as Edward Koch in New York, and Willie Brown, Mervyn Dymally and Gov. Jerry Brown in California.

Must I conclude that, "comes the revolution, the socialists will be half-an-hour late!"

—Barbara J. Lucas
Berkeley, Calif.

DIALOG

A close encounter of a nice kind

Your review of *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (ITT, Nov. 30, 1977) focused entirely on the media hype and never discussed the content of the film. The film explores questions of extraterrestrial intelligence that merit serious discussion. *Close Encounters* parts company with previous sci-fi films in which hostile aliens try to invade the earth. In this film, the human race is not saved by generals from the Pentagon arriving with a new weapon that drives the invaders off to some distant part of the universe.

Neither of the main characters in the film is terrified by their contact with the alien force. They seem to have a feeling of confused well being, but they find the public unsympathetic. They become engrossed in the pursuit of an abstract vision that they gradually shape into drawings and sculptures and make the connection between their vision and reality one night when the evening news shows Devils Tower, Wyoming.

Driven by an unexplained urge, they proceed to Devils Tower where they discover a top-secret, pre-arranged meeting between earth people and the extraterrestrials. Headed by Professor Lacombe (Francois Truffaut), scientists have been in touch with the extraterrestrials, too. The film ends with a 40-minute special effects spectacular portraying this meeting. Emissaries are exchanged and a spirit of a cosmic UN prevails.

The ending of the film, a rejection of the usual futuristic 'shoot-em-up,' is a healthy sign. American science fiction has been stuck in this groove for too long—from *Invaders from Mars* through *Star Wars*. These films were used extensively during the cold war years in attempts to galvanize public opinion against 'foreign invaders.' Films such as *The Invasion of the Body Snatchers* and *Village of the Damned* were explicitly xenophobic, but this thinking was also implicit in the more liberal 1960s *Star Trek* TV series. *Close Encounters* breaks with this tradition.

Another noteworthy feature is the film's credibility. Good science fiction must be a reasonable extrapolation of sound physical concepts. If physical laws get pushed too far, the result is

unbelievable fantasy. The credibility of *Close Encounters* rests on two questions. First, is it reasonable to assume that UFO sightings are real experiences? Second, is it reasonable to assume that intelligent life has evolved elsewhere in the universe? The answer to both questions is a qualified yes.

Since the late 1940s, all reported UFO sightings were kept in secret files by the Air Force. The records of this project (known as "Blue Book") were later turned over to scientists for evaluation. One of these investigators, J. Allen Hynek of Northwestern University, has analyzed the Blue Book material. His conclusion is that most of the sightings (about 90 percent) can be explained as natural phenomena. Of the remaining 10 percent, many are based on the experience of only one observer, and are therefore given little weight. But a small yet significant number of sightings cannot be put into the above categories.

There are many cases of visual observation of UFOs by credible reporters and many radar confirmations. It is therefore reasonable to assume that there are many UFO reports that remain unexplained. (Hynek served as scientific consultant to the makes of *Close Encounters*, and the UFOs in the film are good replications of UFO reports.)

Controversy over extraterrestrial life has raged for centuries. In 1600 the monk Giordano Bruno was burned at the stake for upholding a Copernican universe in which extraterrestrial life abounded. In the early 1960s the Soviet astrophysicist I.S. Shklovskii rekindled scientific interest with his book *Universe, Life, Mind*. The American astronomer Carl Sagan annotated the English translation of Shklovskii's book and the product of this joint effort appeared under the title *Intelligent Life in the Universe*. Their conclusion, since shared by many scientific authorities, is that the odds are overwhelmingly in favor of intelligent life having evolved elsewhere in the universe.

Thus, the two fundamental premises of *Close Encounters* are on good foundation. It is probable that UFO's may be real unexplained physical phenomena, and it is also probable that intelligent life exists elsewhere in the universe. But it does not follow that UFOs and extraterrestrial life are related. Here, the realm of science ends and *Close Encounters* begins.

Starting with these premises, *Close Encounters* builds an exciting and humanistic story. It portrays what just might conceivably be the next great step in the course of human history. It should not be dismissed as merely another junk-piece.

—Bobby Nelson
Department of Earth and
Planetary Sciences
University of Pittsburgh

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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Hans Koning

The schoolboy view of the world is still the establishment's darling



There's one good after-effect that might have come from the various Washingtonian calamities of the past decades. They could have done a job of demystification as no smooth times ever achieve. Through the U2 by way of Vietnam to Watergate, myths about American foreign policy and its inherent honesty, as well as about the President's office and its ennobling quality, could and should have taken a beating. Our inbred Good Guys/Bad Guys division of the world, what I call "the schoolboy view of history," should have been left by the wayside.

Well, you don't see many political cartoons any more with an Uncle Sam policeman walking the world's beat, but the demystification, if any, was fragmentary and minute, the old images obviously too solid and comfortable. We still seem to live in that schoolboy world. And those who proved so terribly wrong in their assumptions during those years, from James Reston to the Rand Corporation to Eugene Rostow, are holding forth as if they had been right. Now as before we are informed that U.S. foreign policy may occasionally be mistaken, but it is in essence "good." It is altruistic, and that is even a bit of a truism, for what is good for us is good for the rest of the world and vice versa.

The rewards and punishments of capitalism appear as so much more *natural* than those of an authoritarian state, that I can see how Leslie Gelb (diplomatic correspondent for the *New York Times*) when writing "The U.S. is committed to stability (while Russia is an expansionist state)," feels no need for qualifications or proofs. His is a specifically liberal voice, but the liberal establishment provides the voice of our foreign policy. Foreign policy isn't made by them, and I doubt that even on the tenth floor of the *New York Times* they know what is really

When the media and politicians talk of "the tragic lessons of Vietnam," they don't mean that their good guys/bad guys view has been demystified.

going on in the councils of the mighty where oil prices and unemployment figures are set. But they write the glosses for it. And for these men and women, "stability" does not mean a capitalist status quo; the meaning of the word has unnoticably shaded into democracy and human freedom. To think differently, to be the kind of person who talks of radical political theory, let alone of Marxist theory, no, to even use words like capitalism and imperialism, ends the conversation and closes the columns of our mass media as it does the ears of editors and newscasters. Those words (which after all have specific and useful meanings) can, in the American media, only be used between quotes, and when talking of communist broadsides or courtroom statements by terrorists.

"American aggression"—that phrase too is unacceptable *per se* in our media. In our editors' schoolboy world, the Marshall Plan wasn't meant to keep Western Europe safe for free enterprise, it wasn't even set up to keep communism at bay—it was simply a totally selfless effort to help. The Greeks, who in large numbers after 1945 wanted socialism and communism, were dissuaded from that first by British and then American arms (in a precise mirror situation of what happened in Hungary later); to our editors and statesmen, the U.S. was there "to help battered Greece." Not the Greek government, mind you, such as it was, ex nazi-collaborators and all, no, "Greece," the people, the lot of them. You can go on from there. In this world view, all aggression comes well-nigh by definition

from the Russians and not meeting it constitutes a "Munich."

The cold war is far from over, to the contrary; and "Munich" once again haunts our newspaper columns. A man like Eugene Rostow, undaunted by the odd million of corpses that could in all fairness be laid at his suburban door, tells us now that we, being in the selfsame position "as England in 1938 when the shadow of Hitler's Germany was darkening all of Europe," must not let ourselves be detented into another Munich. A variety of "non-profit foundations" is financing similar messages all over the place.

"Munich," if it means anything historically, teaches that embracing fascism in the hopes of keeping communism out of our world, doesn't work too happily. That is not the lesson, however, that our columnists read in it. When James Reston invoked Munich during the Vietnam war like so many other liberals, and when Rostow is brandishing it about now, what they mean is that no place on this earth can conceivably be wishing to do without capitalism—if it weren't for the KGB twisting their arms and minds. Therefore such an alleged wish has to be met by force.

We'd better realize that when the major media and politicians talk of "the tragic lessons of Vietnam," they don't in the least mean that their good guys/bad guys views of the world have become demystified or at least relativized. What they mean is, they've learned that more subtlety is needed next time, that there are

many ways to skin a cat, and that it isn't that hard to find others to do it for you. We are told that Washington is very nervous about the Cubans in Africa, and Andy Young has swallowed those surprising words that they were stabilizing Angola. But, everywhere, Washington has its own Cubans, and with a vengeance.

Think of that Iranian sergeant's son who somehow (that's to say, through the CIA) became the Shah of Shahs, or of the Saudi Arabians, a military tribe controlled by one large family clan of obscurantist and reactionary sheiks (now called Princes in our press), who, for instance, financed Moroccan intervention in Zaire last year to keep Mobutu in power and Somali intervention in Ethiopia, and who use billions to boost anti-communism in Taiwan, France, Spain, and Italy. There is a staggering amount of money power in Saudi Arabia, but few people; they are our money-Cubans. When we need arms and legs-Cubans, we have such captive nations as the South Koreans, whose two years National Service is a worldwide forced labor duty—as in the Persian Gulf where South Koreans do construction work (sleeping on ships, two beds per three men) against token wages.

In the spring of 1977, those Koreans staged a major revolt on their work sites in the Saudi town of Al Jubayl, but this capitalist unrest seemed to have lacked the news value possessed by those lines at the Polish butcher shops. You can see why such a revolt has to be a non-event. It is definitely too difficult to fit it into that schoolboy view of the world.

Hans Koning is a New York novelist and former reporter-at-large for the New Yorker. His latest novel is The Petersburg-Cannes Express; his latest book of non-fiction, A New Yorker in Egypt, came out last winter.

Staughton Lynd

Labor and the law Trial by jury at work?



In a socialist society, how would decisions be made to employ, to promote, or to discharge one person rather than another? Do we really want "trial by jury" when the jury is those with whom we work?

To begin with, employing, promoting and discharging would presumably be transformed in a socialist society. A person would begin a job with the assurance that, absent dramatic misconduct, he or she could count on doing that job indefinitely. There would be an end to the practice of hiring more junior, or probationary, employees than could ultimately be retained. Responsibility would be shared and rotated, and even those carrying significantly more responsibilities than others might be paid no more. Finally, in the event of misconduct or poor performance, no doubt every effort would be made to help the brother or sister concerned to stay on the job.

Even after such reforms, however, decisions would have to be made that would help some and hurt others.

There seem to be two broad alternatives for making personnel decisions. One is a civil service model: general rules mechanically applied to everyone. The other is the jury model: assessment of strengths and weaknesses as well as of the

sions in our society illustrate these dangers. Consider what happened to Herbert Aptheker at Yale.

Since 1969 Yale University has sponsored college seminars, some carrying credit in a major field, some not. In 1974 the seminar committee of Davenport College proposed that Aptheker, an historian, a member of the American Communist party, and the editor of W.E.B. DeBois' papers, teach such a seminar on the life and thought of DuBois. The committee sought sponsorship for the seminar from the History department. An ad hoc committee of three senior historians, appointed by the department chairman, advised against departmental sponsorship.

The Davenport College seminar committee met with one of the three senior historians. The latter reportedly stated that Aptheker's scholarship did not meet the standards of the History department. The historian also related that he had resigned from the editorial board supervising the publication of DuBois' correspondence, under Aptheker's editorial direction.

Aptheker was not informed of what might well be termed the charges against him. He had no opportunity to confront his accusers. Aptheker was informed by

to sponsor the DuBois seminar. No meeting of the department was held (nine historians later publicly condemned the department's position). However, the Davenport College committee was told that the history department formally declined sponsorship.

By this time the seminar had become a campus issue. The history department was accused of anti-Communism, Aptheker demanded that the department make known its reasons for rejecting him. The department refused.

The political science department unanimously voted to approve the DuBois seminar. It was then generally assumed that the appointment was assured. Aptheker received letters about book lists from the bookstore and university library.

There was an obscure group of senior professors which was required to give final approval to proposed appointments, however. When this body met the history department turned out in force. Certain historians delivered prepared statements in opposition to the appointment (statements that, of course, Aptheker has not seen to this day). The appointment was turned down. Again Aptheker was notified by telephone. Again there was no statement of reasons.

The story has a not entirely unhappy

and in fall 1976 it was finally taught. But the damage to Aptheker's reputation, not to speak of his feelings, was unrepaired.

If peer group decision-making means a due process nightmare like that experienced by Aptheker at Yale, no one should desire it.

But "trial by jury" at the workplace can be accompanied by procedural safeguards. Obvious ones are:

1. The evaluatee should have a right to confront his or her evaluators.
2. Clear and consistent standards of performance should be established, and made known well in advance of application.
3. Any final negative decision as to someone already employed should be preceded by indication of insufficiencies so as to give the worker in question a chance to improve.
4. Any final negative decision should be accompanied by a statement of reasons.
5. There should be a right to appeal to a more broadly representative body (a local union meeting?) with power to reverse the initial decision.

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Richard B. Du Boff

The military budget Anti-socializing our resources

By quantitative measure the military establishment's hold on our resources is weakening. Over the past two decades the percentage of the gross national product (GNP) going to the military has dropped from 10 percent to around 5 percent. Even if federal spending on intelligence, space, foreign aid are considered paramilitary, because they are linked to an expansionist foreign policy, the trend of military outlays is still downward, as a percentage of the GNP.

The military share of the federal budget has likewise been declining, whether federal outlays are measured on the "unified budget" basis, which includes trust fund disbursements (social security, unemployment insurance, medicare, highway, airport, federal employees and railroad workers retirement funds), or on the older "administrative" basis, which excludes them. The military's portion of the "unified budget" has fallen from 58 percent in 1955 to around 25 percent. Of estimated unified outlays of \$440 billion for fiscal year 1978, \$112 billion (25.5 percent) are allocated to "national defense."

Such figures seem to show a decreasing militarization of the economy, but they must be used with caution. Every quantitative measure may indicate a lag in military spending—but then Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara used to say that "every quantitative measure" we had in 1966 showed that we were "winning the war in Vietnam." Too few people realize that net federal purchases of goods and services, as distinct from total "unified" federal expenditures, have been and still are predominantly military. This is critically important. To understand its implications we need a short lesson in national income accounting.

Since 1967 the official federal budget has been calculated on the "unified" basis: every dollar Washington spends, for whatever purpose, is thrown into it. These expenditures can be divided into two categories—transfer payments and net purchases. The latter, federal government spending for goods and services, form part of GNP. Federal expenditures on goods and services thus deny some of the nation's output and some of its resources to the private sector. Labor, capital, land, and materials used to build a nuclear submarine or a post office, or to staff the FBI or the Department of Commerce, become unavailable to the market sector.

Transfer payments cover trust fund disbursements, veterans benefits, interest on the national debt, grants-in-aid and "revenue sharing" with state and local governments, and most programs lumped under "public welfare and assistance" (food stamps, aid for families with dependent children). These transfers represent the faster growing portion of total "unified" outlays. In contrast to federal purchases, they involve no public claim on society's resources and are not counted in the GNP. An increase in social security taxes and payments, or in interest on U.S. government bonds, may redistribute purchasing power within the private sector, but it does not expand the federal government's use of the nation's available resources.

Any fear (or hope) that this transfer process actually redistributes income from rich to poor appears groundless. Despite rapid growth of federal transfers, from \$24 billion in 1950 past \$270 billion in 1977, income distribution has essentially remained unchanged. The reasons are clear: American transfer programs are conservative and limited in size. During the '70s they have been equivalent to 10 or 12 percent of the GNP (less than half the percentage in most Western European countries). They are still mostly distributed independent income—to farmers, the aged, veterans and public college students.

Total "unified" spending, which includes both transfers and purchases of goods and services, is not a worthless figure. It conveys an idea of the scope of federal activity, and reveals the sum that must be financed by taxation or borrowing. But it does not reflect the size of the federal government or any independent, initiatory power it might have in technology, investment, pricing, land utilization and industrial location. This is better assessed by the extent to which federal purchases deny resources and talent to private business and place decision-making power in the hands of government.

Inspection of trends in net federal purchases discloses two basic facts. First, the federal government's claim on national output, and the resources needed to produce it, has been falling steadily for two decades, from 11 percent of GNP in the mid-'50s to less than 8 percent at present. Second, within this contracting federal sector, expenditures on goods and services have been overwhelmingly military. Throughout the '50s and '60s the military share of federal purchases was well above three-quarters, with a peak of 88 percent in 1956-57. Only since 1974 has it edged below 70 percent.

Financing the military.

The point is not merely the obvious one regarding the sacrifice of household consumption or capital investment in the civilian economy to military spending. The other side of this story is how these net federal purchases—still largely military and decreasing as a percentage of GNP—are financed. In effect, they have long been paid for by progressive taxes levied on individuals by the federal personal income tax. Federal purchases and personal income tax revenues have moved in tandem since the 1950s. Between 1950 and 1977 personal tax receipts increased from \$18 billion to \$156 billion, while federal purchases rose from \$19 billion to \$152 billion.

In other words, the graduated-rate personal income tax, the one tool Washington possesses for taxing the rich relatively more than the poor, is used to pay for programs that are far removed from "social welfare." The federal Treasury preempts the most lucrative revenue source by the most efficient and unavoidable method (a direct tax on wages and salaries collected before most of us receive them) and employs most of it to finance the military—and subsidize private capital.

It should be added that federal spending on nonmilitary goods and services—currently comprising one-third of total federal purchases and averaging only 2.5 percent of GNP—are heavily business-supportive too (space exploration; promotion of commerce; acquisition and disposal of agricultural commodities; flood control and navigation projects; law enforcement; operation of the federal airway system; and compensation of federal employees most of whom supply their labor to the executive branch and its departments).

Compared to GNP and "welfare state" transfers, military spending may be tapering off, but its grip on federal purchases, and on the most progressive tax of all, remains unbroken. It continues to subvert the potential of government as a means for reallocating resources to improve human well-being, especially in our cities, and it puts a stranglehold on (what's left of) our progressive tax system. And so far as Jimmy Carter keeps his campaign promises to "reduce military spending," he will try to match this with proportionate cuts in other government programs, as well as in personal income taxes (which will probably be slashed again sometime this year). As Carter drives toward his "balanced budget" by 1981, we will be left with a shrinking federal government

and a further-eroded federal income tax base, both still dominated by the military. Of course if the President's next Pentagon budget is higher than forecast, as Carter seemed to hint to his NATO allies in Brussels on Jan. 6, then so much the worse.

The final effect of the military, and its virtual blank check on personal income tax revenues, is to force regressive financing of other public-sector programs, such as they are. The expanding transfer programs of recent years, particularly social security and medicare, have been funded chiefly through higher payroll taxes that are terribly regressive. The latest example is the solid resistance in the Congress and the business community to the idea of "rescuing the financially troubled social security system" by diverting general federal revenues into it. Apparently only the military has a perpetual right to those; the new Social Security law, passed last Dec. 16, imposes sharply higher fixed-proportion payroll taxes on wage earners, with a tripling of maximum amounts due over the next decade. "Conservatives," the *Wall Street Journal* observed, "prefer to stick with the payroll tax."

The one other source of possible "welfare" spending, state and local governments, reinforces the tendency toward regressive taxation in the economy. To any degree that we look to states and municipalities to break the social logjam, we will depend on tax yields that are (according to the tax specialists of the Brookings Institution) "clearly regressive throughout the entire income scale" (typically, sales and property taxes). In fact, even regressive financing of any social welfare programs by state and local governments may itself be too much to expect. Even during more prosperous times over the past quarter century, the record shows, state and local governments failed to allocate higher proportions of their tax revenues to anything but education, highways, police, and debt redemption.

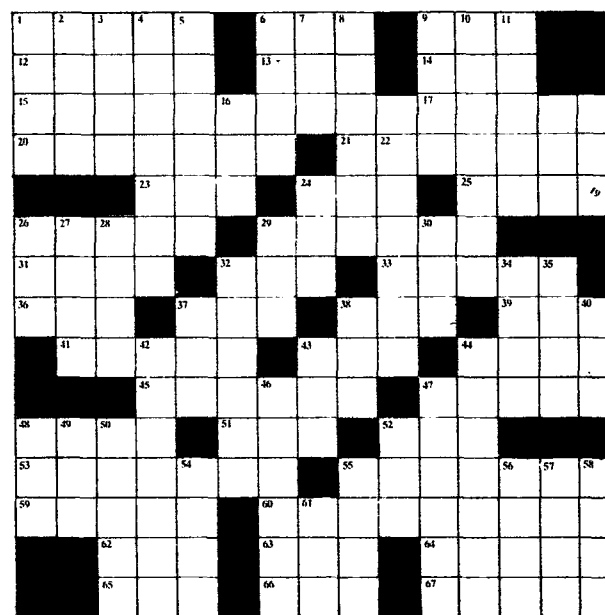
For the left, the military budget must still be attacked, annually and without let-up. It blocks a quantitative and qualitative expansion of public power—the first step toward reducing our collective dependence on private capital and the profit-making process.

Richard B. Du Boff teaches economics at Bryn Mawr College.



A miss is amiss

by David Memelstein



Across:

- 1 "Look not thou upon the wine when it _____" Proverbs 23:31
- 6 Old vessel
- 9 State of equilibrium: Abbr.
- 12 DOUBTFUL SUBSCRIBER
- 13 NEEDED CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE
- 14 _____ Khan
- 15 REGULAR FEATURE
- 16 EDITOR POGREBIN
- 17 FOUNDER & PRESIDENT
- 21 Rodin statue
- 23 Permit
- 24 Found in a pod
- 25 Ruby and Sandra
- 26 Viciously attacked
- 29 "... _____ banks of ..."
- 31 Part of Marcuse title
- 32 Stringing
- 33 Canyon
- 36 Buddy
- 37 Central European country: Abbr.
- 38 "... get _____ on a slow..."
- 39 On in years
- 41 Participates in indoor sport
- 43 COST OF A YEARLY SUB, IN DOLLARS
- 44 At _____ (marching command)
- 45 Carnivorous mammals
- 47 Mountain range of S.A.
- 48 Addict
- 51 "...black sheep, have you

- 52 Anatomical openings
- 53 Ballerina Anna _____
- 55 VICE-PRESIDENT
- 59 Winter vehicles
- 60 AUTHOR OF: THE UN'S DIRTY LITTLE SECRET (NOV. '77)
- 62 Shad _____
- 63 _____ Whitney
- 64 1965 Alabama march site
- 65 Bus or subway slip: Abbr.
- 66 SUBWAY TO HEAD-QUARTERS, FAMILIARLY
- 67 Halloween alternative

Down:

- 1 Fleming, Smith & Hunter
- 2 Mucus
- 3 Grantland or Elmer
- 4 Stars, in Nancy
- 5 Recent biog. of Barrymore: _____ in Paradise
- 6 Swarm
- 7 Ode's subject
- 8 Nautical word used with hatches
- 9 Indonesian island
- 10 "DOES GENIUS HAVE _____?" (Dec. '77)
- 11 Yiddish pancake
- 16 Sills locale
- 18 Golfing peg
- 19 Many make a cen.
- 22 "CRYER & FORD: _____

TO THE GOOD TIMES (Dec. '77)

- 24 Grass
- 26 Corded fabric
- 27 Egyptian or Moroccan
- 28 Water or Marco
- 29 Part of an Inge title
- 30 Debt
- 32 _____ Mahler
- 34 Prod
- 35 Or _____ (suffer the consequences)
- 37 High, in music
- 38 "... we have no bananas"
- 40 Contraction of de and les
- 42 "_____ Our Fathers" by Howe
- 43 "...don't succeed _____"
- 44 One who empowers
- 46 Varnish
- 47 Apprehend
- 48 Downs companion
- 49 Gal of song
- 50 Court star
- 52 _____ leaf cluster
- 54 French dare
- 55 X years after Alfred
- 56 Ending for words borrowed from Latin
- 57 Prefix meaning thread, as in _____ toyst
- 58 Part of QED
- 61 _____-de-France

Solution next week

Carter/Eurocommunism

Continued from page 9.

political and military motives behind Washington's decision. For instance, involved in a major battle to secure Senate ratification of its Panama Canal treaties, the Carter administration is surely in no mood to undergo attack from the right and from Pentagon generals for having "let Italy go Communist." In terms of domestic politics, the Italian right has its pressure groups in the U.S.; the Italian left does not.

But even in purely economic terms, there is reason to doubt that U.S. capitalism is interested in a "rational solution" to the Italian economic crisis that would include the PCI. In the present conjuncture, the more powerful capitalist countries—the U.S., West Germany, Japan—are already having troubles avoiding open trade war. Their interest in seeing a potential competitor truly well-run is strictly limited.

A continuing mess is what the Carter administration has decreed for Italy, with the prospect of a turn to the right as the only permissible path out of the disorder that can be expected to deepen.

The Turin daily *La Stampa* pointed to a "striking similarity" between Moscow and Washington: both, "rather than intervening on behalf of one party or another, are involved in factional politics... Moscow, it seems wants to support the 'hard liners' inside the PCI and weaken Berlinguer and the presumed sponsors of an accommodation with the DC. Washington in turn is not intervening in support of the Christian Democratic leadership, which knows how to look out for itself without any need for trans-Atlantic warnings; but rather is strengthening the right-wing minority factions."

The right wing of the DC has been enjoying increased financial support from the West German right. Now that it has received virtual endorsement from Washington, it can hope to improve its position.

As for the PCI leadership, it is confronted with internal criticism inspired, not by Moscow, but by the party's growing difficulties on its own terrain.

The PCI's youth federation lost 20 percent of its members last year. Some of the party's long-time labor militants also refused to renew their membership at the end of 1977. *Unita* quoted some of them as saying they were more in agreement with the extra-parliamentary groups than with the "historic compromise," which made no sense to them. The rank and file are demobilized by a line they see no way to put into practice, or even explain.

Last Dec. 2, 200,000 members of the powerful metalworkers federation, which has been at the forefront of labor struggles for years, demonstrated in Rome against the "government by abstention" in their first open show of opposition to the "historic compromise." The cancellation by the union leadership of the general strike scheduled for Jan. 18 on grounds that there was virtually no government to strike against (what with Andreotti's government about to fall) increased the disgust and distrust of the union rank and file.

This disaffection at the base of the labor movement may produce greater verbal agreement with revolutionary left positions, but in practice it is leading above all to political apathy and a disintegration of solidarity as everyone begins to look out for oneself in the absence of any socialist solutions in sight.

In a time of unemployment, class solidarity demands that workers struggle for the complementary goals of shorter hours and jobs for all. Workers understand this perfectly, but as the leadership shows itself ready to pursue other goals—wage freezes, "mobility of labor" and compensated mass firings included—individual workers are seeking to increase their own family income by working more hours.

A Lotta Continua survey at Alfa Romeo showed that some 50 percent of the workers were moonlighting. This obviously deepens the split between employed and unemployed. The fact that jobless youths are kept economically dependent on their families tends to contribute to the depoliticizing trend.

One of the achievements of the Italian

left in the recent years of political ferment was the creation of school councils elected by parents, students, teachers and other school employees. Last Dec. 11 and 12, the democratic innovation boomeranged when conservative Catholics, opposed to democratic innovations, won a majority in nationwide school elections. The conservative Catholic organization Communion and Liberation waged a vigorous "law and order" campaign. PCI militants searching vainly for some sort of "historic compromise" with Catholics were unsure how to proceed, whereas many leftist students turned off by the PCI boycotted the "election farce." Less than half the 20 million eligible voters took part.

Most observers think the present mood of disillusion with the "historic compromise" plus the increasing extremist violence favors the right, and that if early elections were called due to failure to form a government, the PCI might suffer some setbacks. But nobody seems to want elections that could make everything worse without settling anything.

Meanwhile, the *Washington Post* reported that top American officials including Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal were drafting a set of recommendations for an International Monetary Fund "watchdog team" to be dispatched to Rome to tell the next government what to do. The problem remains of finding a government willing to do what the IMF tells it. This is what is known in Washington as the "governability of democracies."

LIFE ON A SUB

Continued from page 24.

Down in the Mess Galley crew members not on watch duty contemplate the more predictable crises of daily life. "Last time we went out the air conditioning failed as usual," says a Petty Officer 3rd Class. "It gets to be kind of a drag trying to work in 100° humid atmosphere for days on end, especially when you're working port and starboard 12-hour rotations."

"Supplies also never get delivered on time, or else they're not approved because they're too expensive. One time we went on WESPAC (Western Pacific Patrol) with only one navigation system intact. A situation like that actually puts the ship in danger."

"One time I went two weeks without a shower," says a Machinist Mate 2nd Class. "The system broke down and we didn't have the supplies we needed to fix it. I'm not complaining though; I'm just counting the days till I can get out."

"I work a four-section rotation," explains a Nuclear Electronics Mate. "That means I work three eight-hour watches followed by a 24-hour watch every fourth day. Last week my eight-hour watch Friday went from 7 p.m. to 3 a.m., so that I had a four-hour break before my 24-hour watch started up at 0700. When we're out at sea, which is about two-thirds of the time, our hours get even crazier."

"Since I work a port and starboard rotation, 12 hours on, 12 off, I have to hot rock. There are only 71 racks on board for about 105 men, so some of us have to double up, that's called hot racking. It means that while I'm working my replacement is sleeping in my rack and sharing my rack pan, which is this three and a half

inch space below the berth where you have to store all your clothing and personal possessions."

"Of course, doing a port and starboard rotation doesn't mean I'm done working after 12 hours." The others nod in agreement. "There are always repairs and checks to be run after your watch."

"Once in Guam I had to work five days straight without sleep," says the Machinist Mate. "Finally me and my partner just dropped our tools and walked off the pier. Two and a half hours later, after a shower and a nap, they called us back to work another three days."

"In some ways it's almost better they work you to exhaustion," says the Petty Officer. "Last time we went on WESPAC we were out 192 days, 152 days of which we were underwater. There's so little to do around here that you'd probably go crazy if you had too much free time."

"If you do go crazy they tie you down in your rack and have the Corpsman sedate you for the rest of the cruise," says the Nuclear E.M.

Cheap stuff.

The Mess Galley is the only work-free space on board the *Haddo*. It functions as a combination dining center, rec room, movie theater and lecture hall. The size of a small living room it has three tables that seat about 30 men. Meals are served four times a day. The men describe the frozen and thawed food as adequate, no better and no worse than barracks chow.

Twice a day, after dinner and around midnight, a movie is shown. Recent showings have included *The Bad News Bears*, *A Star Is Born* and *Jaws*.

During the occasional hours when meals, movies and lectures aren't taking place the men like to hang out in the Mess and talk. There are a few books and board games stored there, including "Battleship" and "Strategy."

As the cooks begin setting up a second lunch the conversation moves to the torpedo room. There is a rack room set directly in front of the torpedo room. With 30 berths set double-decker fashion on either side of a narrow, darkened passageway it looks very much like an old-fashioned railroad sleeper car.

The torpedo room is set amidships. It is as wide as the boat's beam with low-slung ceilings and four pressure cooker type torpedo tubes set in pairs on either side of the ship. It seems relatively spacious and provides a second hang-out for the men when its skids are not stacked up with torpedos.

One of the men hooks his blue chino work shirt on a loose bolt head as he walks through the door. "This is ridiculous," he says. "You believe they spent over \$200 million dollars for this pig?"

"The Defense budget is all screwed up," agrees the mate from Control. "They spend \$15-20,000 to give me a security clearance, then only pay me a base rate of \$600 dollars a month. You know an E-4 with a wife and kids qualifies for the food stamp program?"

"It's true," agrees the Nuclear E.M. "I made more as a stockboy in a supermarket than I'm making now."

"They try and save money on our salaries," says the Petty Officer, "but when it comes to Navy supplies cost-overrun is the name of the game."

"I went to Harley-Davidson for a small part when the chain drive on the atmospheric control broke down," says the Machinist mate. "It cost me 69 cents as opposed to \$6 through Navy supply."

"We use this red food coloring for marking things," says the Nuclear E.M. "It's like 79 cents in any supermarket but this corporation puts a label on it that reads 'Nuclear Safe' and sells it to the Navy for \$12 a bottle."

"Until there are some basic changes in the Submarine Service, you're going to continue to have a high rate of turnover, wasteful budgeting and poor morale," says the Petty Officer. "I just hope we don't have anything worse."

"Sure wouldn't want to go three-section with the *Thresher* and the *Scorpion*," says the young E-3, referring to the accident-related sinking of two nuclear subs in the 1970s that sent over 200 men to their deaths. "I sure do love that nice fat air up on the surface."

David Helvar is a free-lance writer in San Diego.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

PUBLIC HEALTH

HEW proposes campaign against teen pregnancy

By Michael Castleman

AN ESTIMATED 11 MILLION teenagers are sexually active in the U.S. today. Studies show that more than half of them used no contraception the last time they had intercourse.

While the overall birth rate continues to decline in the U.S., the birth rate among teenagers is rising steadily—with the most dramatic increases among mothers 15 and under.

Teen mothers have more children, more premature children, more miscarriages and more stillbirths than non-teen mothers. They have higher rates of death during childbirth and infant death during the first year than older mothers. The suicide rate among teen mothers is ten times the national average.

Teen mothers tend to drop out of high school and survive on welfare. They rarely develop marketable job skills, and children who raise children are involved in an inordinate amount of child abuse and neglect.

Hoping to combat this "epidemic of premature pregnancy" across the U.S., the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) plans to ask Congress for \$200 million for a four-year campaign to provide contraceptive methods and education to three million teens.

HEW is "becoming a little bolder about teen contraception," says a department official in San Francisco. "There is no question about the agency's long-term commitment to the reduction of teen birth and VD rates."

Congress is expected to go along because federal funds are no longer available for Medicaid abortions, which were disproportionately used by teens. The federal emphasis is shifting to teen contraception.

"There'll be big bucks in teen clinics and programs," says a San Francisco family planning staffer.

Many informed observers, including several HEW consultants, however, contend that unless HEW goes beyond standard approaches to reaching teens—clinics and school-based educational programs—then more money won't make that much difference.

Too little, too late?

"Although clinics contribute the major source of birth control for teens, they are not reaching large numbers of sexually active teens, nor are they reaching them soon enough," said a 1975 report by a consulting firm contracted by HEW to evaluate teen clinics funded under Title X of the 1970 Family Planning Act. "In many cases," the report adds, "they also fail to promote effective contraceptive use among the teens they do reach."

Family planning researchers from the San Francisco-based Urban and Rural Systems Analysts (URSA), interviewing 423 teen girls at 40 clinics in eight cities including New York, Atlanta, San Francisco, Oakland and Seattle, discovered that 94 percent of those teens were sexually experienced before they visited the clinics and that 75 percent had been sexually active for at least one year before first visiting the clinics.

One-third of the girls had already been pregnant. The average age of puberty

for girls in the U.S. has dropped to 12—and is decreasing.

URSA's findings were echoed by the respected Johns Hopkins research team of Drs. Kantner and Zelnick, who recently reported that among teens there is a "pattern of having sex, becoming pregnant, and then going on to use birth control."

The URSA report also said that many teen clinics "do not reflect a knowledge of their patients' lives and feelings." Clinics are often inaccessibly located, with inconvenient hours, long waiting times and inadequate guarantee of privacy. Teen clinics rarely advertise enough to attract the attention of potential clients.

The URSA report went on to criticize the Title X program for limiting funding strictly to contraceptive services and not to such necessary related service as pregnancy testing, problem pregnancy counseling, VD testing and treatment and emotional and sexual counseling.

The report pointed out that as of 1975 only 23 states had granted persons under 18 the right to birth control services without parental consent. Since confidentiality of services was regarded as crucial by the teens URSA interviewed, it is questionable how effective clinics can be in states where minors still need parental consent for contraceptive services.

Misguided school programs.

School-based contraception programs also are misguided, according to Robert Heath, director of the Nomos Institute of Berkeley, which conducted an independent evaluation of one 1972-74 HEW-funded contraception education program called Project Teen Concern.

Heath criticized school-based programs because many young people—especially low-income teens—are often so turned off to school that providing contraceptive information becomes impossible in the institutional setting. Heath encourages professionals to get out of their offices and workshops to where young people congregate: on streetcorners and in parks, parking lots, schoolyards, pinball parlors, fast-food outlets, record stores and boutiques.

"There is a tendency for professionals to talk only to other professionals," Heath said. "It's easier to do, professionals are trained to do that and you run fewer personal and psychological risks."

Indeed, most sex education classes use a clinical vocabulary that is foreign to the on-the-street experiences of most teens. "Kids don't 'have intercourse,'" says one San Francisco family planner. "They 'screw,' 'ball,' 'do it,' 'get down.'" Adults who refuse to use the kids' language might as well not open their mouths."

How then could federal money better be used to reduce the teen birth rate?

First, it is important to look at why so many teenagers do not use birth control.

One reason is that the fear of pregnancy is no longer the deterrent it used to be. Fifteen years ago pregnant girls would almost invariably leave school for a semester. Today they are a common sight in many high schools and even junior highs. A "good reputation" is simply considered less important than it once was.

Another reason is that to many teenagers using contraception implicitly admits not only to sexual activity but to



Jane Melnick

Clinics that offer birth control information to teens often reflect little knowledge of their patients' lives and feelings. Inaccessibility, inconvenient hours and violated privacy turn off sexually active teens.

the intention to plan in advance for sexual activity—often regarded as less "romantic."

Robert Redford never asks.

"You never see Robert Redford asking Julie Christie what method they should use," says Deborah Mandel of Marin (Calif.) Planned Parenthood. "He gives her that special look, their clothes fall off and no one has any regrets afterward."

"Adults can weigh their experience of negotiating sexual relationships against the 'swept away' romanticism of TV and films," one sex educator remarks. "Kids don't have the perspective to distinguish media sex from real sex. They are very sensitive to media messages and they imitate what they see."

A third and frequently overlooked reason why teens ignore birth control is that many actually want to have children. (According to a recent survey, more teen mothers than ever want to keep their babies.)

For many the teen years are frightening ones—the world looks huge, cruel and incomprehensible; jobs are hard to find. Having a child gives many teens a sense of personal dignity, a place in the limelight, someone to love and hold power over in a world where they feel powerless.

Thus the key to reducing the teen birth rate, many experts contend, is to develop new programs that more directly touch teens' lives.

A few privately funded programs have attempted to do just that—with highly favorable results.

In 1969 a public health student at the University of North Carolina designed a condom mass distribution program "to operate largely outside the official channels of the health, welfare and poverty agency." Besides the local VD clinic con-

doms were distributed for free by high school drop-outs and by local merchants whose stores were teen hang-outs.

The project distributed an astonishing 27,000 condoms in four months, about 240 per day. The merchants gave out 40 percent and the drop-outs 38 percent, while the local VD clinic ran a poor third with 20 percent.

The program demonstrated that, contrary to popular belief, teen boys are willing to become involved with contraception—but that they prefer to take condoms from people they know and trust rather than from impersonal public health facilities.

In a similar program developed in Dillon County, S.C., project director Nick Mescia reported that boys were reluctant to come into the public health department to pick up condoms, but they would call him with detailed instructions to meet them at lonely rural crossroads after dark.

The way to reach the broadest number of teens, however, is undoubtedly through the mass media. The average teen is absorbed in television, radio or print media for four hours every weekday—or 52 percent of the teen's waking leisure time.

A San Francisco-based national media project has recruited rock stars like Linda Ronstadt and Alice Cooper to deliver pro-birth control public service messages called Rock Spots. Funded by a private foundation, Rock Spots is syndicated to 500 stations around the country and, according to a survey of station managers, has had an "incredibly positive" impact on radio audiences.

(© Pacific News Service)

Michael Castleman was director of the Men's Reproductive Health Clinic in San Francisco, the nation's first birth control clinic for men.

SPORTS

Duke and Chicago a study in choices

By Barry Jacobs

DURHAM, N. C.

IT WAS THE KIND OF MISMATCH common early in the college basketball season. For the host Duke Blue Devils, a major college (Division I) team, the game was a "tune-up"—a chance to experiment, build up confidence, fatten its record. For the outmanned Maroons from the University of Chicago, a Division III team, the game was what coach John Angelus called a learning experience, "a tremendous opportunity" for his squad to test itself against the big boys.

Certainly, it was no contest. At half-time taller, stronger, quicker Duke led 55-29. The only suspense for the restless Durham home crowd was in wondering whether Duke would score 100 points and maintain a whopping 40-point margin at game's end.

Duke won, 99-61.

Except in sports, Duke and Chicago are strikingly similar. Both are private institutions with about 9,000 undergraduates. Duke was founded by James B. Duke, a tobacco magnate, while Chicago was the creation of oil baron John D. Rockefeller. Both universities are noted for fine academics and excellent graduate programs. Each is a leading center of learning in its part of the country. If Duke didn't already call itself the Harvard of the South, it's likely it would be proud to be known as the Chicago of the East.

Different athletic approaches.

But the schools have taken very different approaches to intercollegiate athletics.

Despite an illustrious sports heritage, Chicago decided long ago to deemphasize athletics, preferring to invest its energy and money elsewhere. Sports participation is geared toward the average student.

None of Chicago's basketball players is in school on an athletic scholarship. This season's top newcomer, 6'7" Jim Tolf, turned down athletic scholarships at other schools because they included his dropping plans to be a pre-med student. It was feared Tolf's academic major would interfere with his basketball career.

At one point in the Duke game Chicago had three pre-med students on the court.

At Chicago, explained coach Angelus, academics come first. He confided resignedly that his players even miss practice occasionally because they're attending a class.

Duke has ordered its priorities differently. It, too, has a long history of athletic accomplishment, a tradition it's tried to maintain despite rising costs and increasing questions about the integrity and purpose of big-time intercollegiate sports.

A member of the Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC), Duke regularly competes on a major college level. This past fall its football team, which finished 5-6, played five opponents who went on to post-season bowl games. Duke lost to all five.

But football losses at Duke, as elsewhere in the ACC, can be forgiven. It's basketball that matters.

Fans from Maryland to South Carolina and beyond insist ACC basketball has no peer. The seven league schools—Maryland, Virginia, Wake Forest, North Carolina, N.C. State, Clemson, and Duke—attract top Eastern basketball players as a matter of course.

Except for a few teams in Washington and Baltimore, no major league pro sports compete for attention with ACC basketball. As a result, the game is widely popular. Last year the league played before 89 percent of capacity in all home games. This season more than half the league's games will be televised.

Fan interest runs so high it's often only

those who contribute large sums of money to a school's athletic program who get a chance to purchase tickets. At North Carolina, for example, tickets are so scarce lifetime contributors of \$50,000 or more (35 people at last count) may will their ticket rights to their children.

"Basketball down here is an amazing thing," observed Jim Spanarkel, a junior guard from Jersey City and Duke team captain. "People take it like a pro sport... People here come to see Duke win at all costs."

Disappointments recently.

Duke basketball has disappointed its fans recently. Last season's 14-3 mark was the school's best since 1972; the team still finished at the bottom of the ACC.

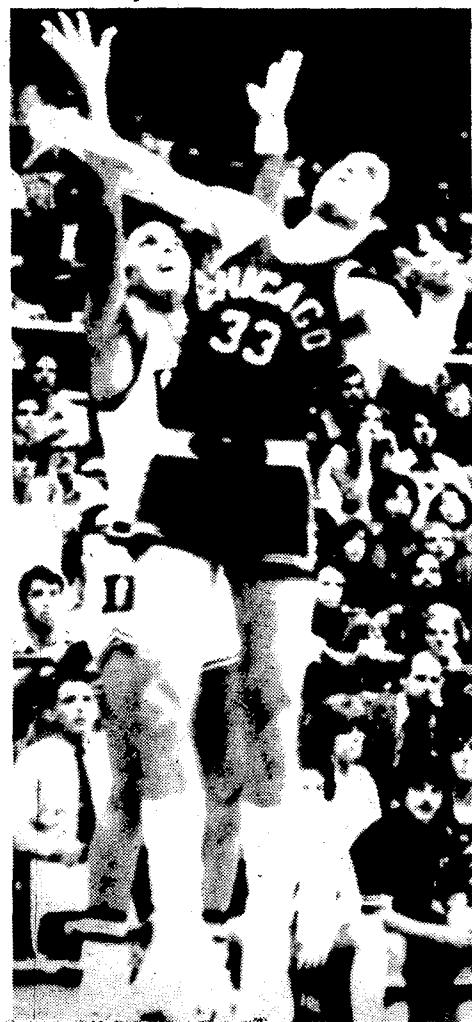
Today's failures are all the more glaring because, not long ago, Duke was a national basketball power. In the 1960s coach Vic Bubas, now commissioner of

Chicago and Duke have taken different approaches to athletics. Despite an illustrious sports heritage Chicago has deemphasized athletics, while Duke, similar to Chicago in other ways, has not.

the Sun Belt Conference, led the school to 213 wins and only 67 losses.

During that period, Duke took four ACC regular season crowns, three ACC Tournaments, and advanced to the final four in NCAA play three times, once reaching the championship game. Bubas' teams ranked in the top 20 in all but his final season.

During those years integration transformed basketball. When Bubas stepped down in 1970 black athletes were starring on many college squads. By "discovering" blacks, schools like the University of Alabama rose from obscurity to instant basketball prominence.



But while others were signing top black athletes, Duke was not—coaches couldn't sell a student body which even today, more than a decade after integration, is barely five percent black.

In a game increasingly dominated by blacks, Duke's nearly all-white teams quickly ceased being competitive.

It also turned out that Duke's worst selling point with modern hot-shot high schoolers, whatever their race, was its vaunted academic reputation.

Dr. Allen Kornberg, a political scientist and former faculty chairman of Duke athletics, commented, "At Duke, we have one standard for everybody. Unlike most other schools, if an athlete gets in here, it's because he meets the academic requirements."

Coach Bill Foster, as a result, found himself recruiting at a distinct disadvantage when he left a successful Utah program to come to Duke in 1975.

Foster claims 70 percent of the top basketball prospects in any given year can't get into Duke. Of the rest, 10 percent lack what Foster calls "the academic interest" to make it at Duke. The coach says he wants only those who can graduate in four years—during his tenure, all his players have graduated on time—while remaining competitive big-time basketball players. It's a tall order, and most young athletes shy away.

"There is a fear of the academic pressure here," Foster admitted in a recent interview, "that the players can't spend enough time working on their game. I don't think it's true."

Athletics vs. academics.

Kornberg saw it differently. "It's my impressionistic view, grounded in 12 years of teaching these kids, talking to them, watching them, that they're under great emotional pressure. They have internalized the values we have tried to sell them on, so that they choose the academic over the athletic when it comes down to making a choice."

As if to bear out Kornberg's assessment

(which Foster complained would hurt recruiting if it made it into print), reserve forward Cameron Hall quit the Duke basketball team after the Chicago game, announcing, "As the season has progressed, I have found it increasingly difficult to adjust to the pressures that one experiences as a member of the Duke team. Most of these pressures have been self-inflicted. Regardless of that fact, a tremendous increase in anxiety and tension has resulted, making my existence miserable."

The academic/athletic tug of war was not lessened by the fact that Hall, a sometimes starter last season, was supplanted by two freshmen whose presence transformed Duke from an also-ran to a contender for the ACC title.

One newcomer was hustling 6'7" Kenny Dennard, North Carolina's top prep player. The other was 6'7", 205-pound power forward Eugene Banks of West Philadelphia, considered by many the top freshman prospect in the nation this year.

With Banks' arrival—he's the first top-notch black basketball player ever to attend Duke—excitement about the team's prospects rose to a fever pitch.

In the past, fans from other ACC schools contributed to Duke's athletic program because Duke's weak teams attracted few boosters, and a small contribution (say a mere \$500) earned the right to purchase tickets allotted to Duke for events like the season-ending ACC Tournament. No more. With Banks and Dennard joining Spanarkel and 6'11" center Mike Gminski, both past ACC rookies of the year, the school suddenly has more boosters than tickets. Home games are all sold out. Boosters now dish out amounts comparable to their compatriots at other ACC schools for the chance to watch tournament play.

It looks as though Duke is headed back into the limelight. That's where the prestige and money are. And that, sports fans, is what big-time athletics is all about.

Barry Jacobs is a free-lance writer in Durham, N.C.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Records

JAZZ WOMEN: A Feminist Retrospective
(Stash 109)

Just as women and their achievements have been conspicuously absent from standard American history accounts, jazz historians have also failed to give adequate credit to the contributions of female artists to the mainstream of the music. The two-record set under review, however, marks a first step towards reclaiming the rich heritage of women in jazz.

In order to aid in this venture, the album includes liner notes by the formidable jazz pianist Mary Lou Williams who has played in every jazz context from her Kansas City beginnings, through bop, to her recent duet concert with "free jazz" pianist Cecil Taylor. In addition to her playing and recording career, Ms. Williams is currently a professor of music at Duke University. *Women in Jazz: A Survey* by Frank Driggs, a 24-page companion booklet, is available as a separate purchase from Stash Records, Inc. (P.O. Box 390, Brooklyn, NY 11215).

The album includes 34 cuts in all and ranges from the rough and ready country blues of guitarist/vocalist Memphis Minnie to the more sophisticated Christianesque guitar work of North Dakotan Mary Osborne. Piano stylings span the decades from the New Orleans style of the late Lil Hardin (who played with such early jazz greats as Freddie Keppard, King Oliver and her husband, Louis Armstrong) to the relatively more contemporary sound of Marian McPartland, an Englishwoman who has been playing jazz for many years, and who now records for her own Halcyon label, which gives special emphasis to women musicians.

There are several cuts by the so-called "all-girl bands" that flourished during the Swing Era. What was it like to be a pioneer woman jazz musician with such a band? As trombonist Althea Conley (who played with Ina Rae Hutton's Melodears) puts it in *Women in Jazz*, "On our trips we always had a ball. We went through tornadoes, and had breakdowns and sometimes we had to get out and push the bus when the grades were too much. Had to change tires and have had to siphon gas from the tank and put it into the distributor to keep going. The going got rough sometimes, but we enjoyed every minute of it."

But women musicians didn't merely have to contend with the hassles of being "on the road." They had also to deal with critical disdain as artists. In an unsigned 1938 *Downbeat* piece entitled, "Why Women Musicians Are Inferior," the author wrote: "Why is it that outside of a few sepia females, the woman musician never was born capable of sending anyone further than the nearest exit? It would seem that even though women are the weaker sex they would be able to bring more out of a poor, defenseless horn than something that sounds like a cry for help. You can forgive them for lacking guts in their playing but even women should



be able to play with feeling and expression and *they never do it.*"

In that same issue, Rita Rio, one of the more successful all-women band leaders, who later went on to a movie career under the name Donna Drake, responded, "I think our mutual public will agree that a warm vibrant tone is much more pleasing than the masculine sock so often emphasized by our men bands."

Downbeat has continued to give short shrift to women jazz musicians, both in terms of its historical analysis and its ongoing coverage of the current jazz scene. Perhaps the publicity that is bound to accompany the first Kansas City Women's Jazz Festival on the weekend of March 19, 1978, will lead to a more balanced approach in the future.

After all, jazz women today are still going strong, and their music can be heard in the big band arrangements of pianist Toshiko Akiyoshi, the bop sounds of alto saxophonist Vi Redd, the vocal stylings of Betty Carter, and the "new music" approach of pianist/composer Carla Bley—just to name a few. —Ron Sakolsky
(For ticket information write Kansas City Women's Jazz Festival, PO Box 22321, Kansas City, MO 64113.)

Ron Sakolsky teaches at Sangamon State University and reviews jazz for IN THESE TIMES.

SLOWHAND
Eric Clapton
(RSO)**ROUGH MIX**
Peter Townshend/Ronnie Lane
(MCA)

Heavy metal freaks must be gnashing their teeth as Clapton continues to steer away from the fury of Cream and continues to explore country and blues. And Who lovers will bring mixed feelings to *Rough Mix*, the collaboration between Who master Town-

shend and Lane, a Small Faces mainstay.

The albums share modesty of intent, Glyn Johns production, and Clapton, who is featured on the Townshend/Lane collaboration as one of many sidemen.

Clapton rocks hard with co-vocalist and co-writer Marcy Levy on "The Core," and his guitar shines in interplay with rhythm guitarist George Terry on J.J. Cale's "Cocaine." But the rocking is characterized by workmanship, not flash. *Slowhand* is an album of small pleasures: the understated blues, "Mean Old Frisco"; the way Clapton alternates between yearning and threatening on his "Next Time You See Her." He continues to play with precision, economy, and a tone that is a result of conscious dynamic control.

Only one clinker mars *Rough Mix*: The Townshend "Street in the City," which sounds like an update of the Beatles' "A Day in the Life." It's banal and grossly over-arranged.

The musicianship and innocence of these albums is what makes them pleasing. These artists are secure in their craft and do not have to impress. If anything, Clapton's a little too laid back; there's great dynamic control and variety within each song, but not enough difference between them. Variety might help his strengths come across.

The Townshend tunes are mystical, loving; the Lane tunes are more down to earth. The reason the "rough mix" between these two musicians works is that both are humble, both celebrate their pleasures in love, work, the family by writing and playing straightforward, simply-framed music that belies craft and joy.

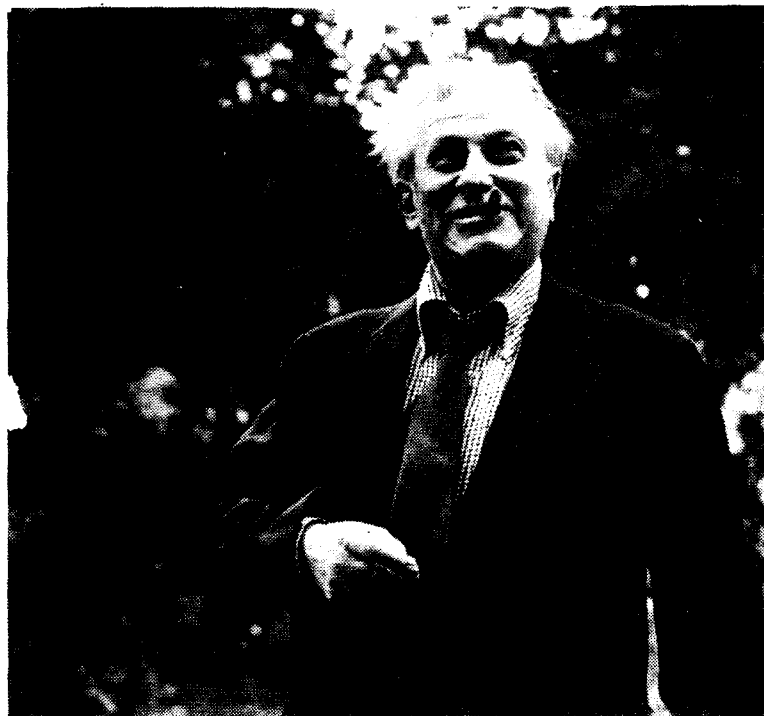
As the saying goes, good things come in small packages.

—Carlo Wolff

Carlo Wolff is the editor of the Vermont Vanguard.

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I look forward to reading *In These Times* each week—it has articles and insights I can find nowhere else. Even though there are many new publications, I get a special kick out of this one.

—Studs Terkel

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THEATER

Working goes into orbit

WORKING

From the book by Studs Terkel
Adapted and directed by Stephen Schwartz

Songs by Craig Carnelia, Micki Grant, Stephen Schwartz, James Taylor, Susan Birkenhead and Mary Rodgers
Choreography by Graciela Daniele

Studs Terkel has been interviewing people on an FM station in Chicago for over 20 years. And not just in the studio. He has foraged all over the U.S., England, Europe and Africa, talking to people and keeping his tape recorder running. From the results he has fashioned three best-selling books and created what amounts to a new literary genre.

Division Street: America, Hard Times and *Working* are literary mosaics, skillfully pieced together out of what all kinds of people have to say about their lives and times. What makes them so universally appealing is Terkel's ability to elicit eloquence from his subjects and to preserve the ring of absolute authenticity, making his points with apparent artlessness by selecting, ordering and juxtaposing diverse views.

Now a multi-talented young man named Stephen Schwartz has made Terkel's *Working* into what may be a new dramatic genre—a musical (and dance) mosaic of the same order of reality. Its world premiere at Chicago's Goodman Theater has been playing to full houses and critical raves, and the production is now scheduled to move to Broadway's

46th Street Theater in April.

Working is brilliantly staged, played by a cast of uniform excellence with reverent relish. The music is fine, and the choreography is just as good. But what makes the musical version of *Working* universally appealing is the same quality that made the book great:

A program note explains that the words the characters "speak on stage have been obtained from two sources: their interviews with Studs Terkel...and follow-up interviews with Stephen Schwartz. Although these words have been put into the context of scenes or dialogue, they remain unaltered...

Even in the case of song lyrics, the writers have tried to remain as faithful as possible to the characters' original words. It is our feeling that the value of this piece stems chiefly from the fact that it is true, and we have made every effort to keep it from sliding into the realm of playwrighting dramatization."

The effort pays off. The people are all real and all so fully realized that the audience cannot escape understanding and identifying with each of them. One has the impression, for example, that no suburban shopper who witnessed Joe Mantegna's performance as the migrant worker, Emilio Her-

nandez, will ever again buy grapes to annoy the UFW pickets outside the supermarket.

There are about 50 characters in *Working* as it stands now. (There will be some additions and some subtractions before it opens on Broadway.) The range is amazing: an elderly parking lot attendant, a sub-teen newsboy, a housewife, a fireman, a news photographer, a call girl, a corporate executive, a retired shipping-clerk, a steel worker, a bus driver's wife, a copy boy who is also a revolutionary.

The role that work plays in the lives of all these Americans is as different as the kinds of work they do. To some the job is a Sahara of boredom—eight interminable hours of monotonous movement. To some it is an agony of spirit; to some it is fulfillment; to some it is play.

A young mill worker is bitter at the bondage that is wasting her best years. An executive secretary is smugly satisfied with the sycophantic role she has carved out for herself. A corporate executive admits that his guts have been hollowed out by the insecurity of his "success." A waitress feels she is playing an Academy Award winning role. A fireman quits the police force because he is beginning to hate people and finds work that "accomplishes something real."

The form of *Working* is loose and getting looser as the script is "tightened" for its projected move to New York. (It was nearly an hour too long—by Broadway standards — on opening



Stephen Schwartz, who adapted and directed *Working*.

night.) There is no longer any unifying frame or set of characters that runs through the whole. But there are groupings of vignettes that compare or contrast the work-lives of people who have something in common like a telephone switchboard to deal with, or a profession that capitalizes on their sexual attractiveness. And there are recurrent themes—reasons for working or for sloughing off work, the comradeship and the corrosive competition, pride or shame in one's job—that build suspense lines and climaxes of a sort.

The pace of this production is as tight as the form is loose—totally professional in the best sense of the term. But it is conceivable that groups of gifted amateurs—regional and university and community theaters all over the United States—will find *Working* within their capacities and do it in their own way.

It's considered bad luck in some theatrical circles to make optimistic prophecies before D-Day (which is still considered to be an opening in New York). So this reviewer will suppress the guess that a new theatrical star is on its way into orbit.

—Janet Stevenson



Rex Everhart as seaman Booker Page and Bobo Lewis as his wife in the Goodman Theater's production of *Working*.

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BOOKS

Blood Tie blends East and West, past and present

BLOOD TIE

By Mary Lee Settle
Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1977

It has become fashionable to say that American novelists have withdrawn from the sense of activism produced in the 60s, that they've retreated back into the introspective role of the artist, divorced from society. But in *Blood Tie*, her tenth book, Mary Lee Settle continues to describe human lives within the palpable political events and the historical contexts that give them meaning.

Like her last novel, which was set in Cromwell's England (*Prisons*, 1975), *Blood Tie* depends upon an accurate recreation of place to shape the emotional complexity of people. The story centers on Ceramos, a small coastal town. Ceramos is Turkish now, but through the millennia it has been Persian, Greek, Roman and Christian. The layers of this past are embodied by the hills behind the town, with their buried chambers, labyrinths and caches of relics. And in a sense, the inhabitants of Ceramos are part of this archeological secret—they live by rules and attitudes which have evolved through their long history, and which are misinterpreted or ignored by the Westerners who come there. *Blood Tie* is organized around the "reading" of this past as it is uncovered, forced to the surface by outside pressures.

Most of these pressures are brought about by the latest occupiers of Ceramos, the capitalist culture of the West. This includes the tourists looking for diversion, the investors looking for profits and a number of expatriates who aren't sure what they're looking for. All of them have, in their different ways, a disruptive effect on the town.

The pressures on the town seem unrelated at first. They often have their beginnings in irrelevant personal motives. At other times their intent appears to be benign. In their effects, however, a pattern begins to emerge. For example: The mayor of Ceramos, a rich man's son, wishes to build a hotel. He secures part of the capital from the father of his latest girlfriend, a spoiled child who makes a habit of being used by her lovers. The influential American investor in turn secures official support for the project, which will overtax the town's water supply and possibly cause a cholera epidemic.

At the same time archeologists are lobbying with Turkish and American officials to ban sponge diving in the area. They claim that local divers are taking valuable amphorae from the ocean floor. Also, the diving may become a nuisance to the U.S. Navy. So a ban is instituted, and the sailors and divers of Ceramos, deprived of their traditional livelihood, must depend on the tourists to earn their bread. The archeologists are not in league with the hotel builders, and yet both are part of the larger process, the combination of pressures that is gradually turning the town into a colony.

As long-term residents, the expatriates interact closely with the townspeople. They demonstrate on a personal level the obtuseness and selfishness that makes it possible for outsiders to exploit the town. A main thread of the novel is the problem of communication, which starts with the simplest words and gestures and extends through complexities of motive and emotion. Of course there are barriers of language and culture, but in the case of these expatriates, the problem is more than that. They don't understand each other any better than they understand their hosts. The real difficulty lies in their preoccupation with themselves, their tendency to see the world in terms of their own needs.

This blindness makes them unaware that their actions have social and political consequences, both for themselves and others. They don't comprehend the repressive power of the local officials, petty tyrants who are sifting rumors and facts, nursing their private grudges and waiting for the moment to act. Political dissidents, real or imagined, must be rooted out and eliminated. Confidences are exchanged between Turkish and CIA officials with capricious effects.

Government power has caused a Ceramos native to leave medical school and go into hiding. His native political activism has shattered his promising career. He takes refuge in the hills behind the town, holed up in a secret chamber where he spends his days studying, trying to salvage his future and to uncover the truth about his past and his life. At last, with the help of friends, he begins the next stage of his escape. But before he can get away from Ceramos, he's unwittingly betrayed by one of the expatriates, ambushed and killed like a dog.

The expatriates find they are no longer welcome in Ceramos. Those whose intentions were good, and who have finally begun to understand, are swept away as easily as those who flee in fear and ignorance.

For the time being Ceramos will become a tourist trap. The people who live there will adjust to the changes forced upon their lives and manage to survive somehow. As for the meaning of that sacrifice—whether it has any meaning at all—it's up to them to determine. Their history belongs to them, and remembering is the first step to concrete and effective change.

Blood Tie is an important book for anyone who believes that contemporary American fiction should not be an escape into history. Settle's work maintains the tenuous connection between the functions of art—a drive toward beauty and a responsibility to society. *Blood Tie* allows us to see and understand in a renewed and concentrated way. There's nothing more that can be asked of a novel. Or a novelist.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann teaches at Eastern Illinois University and reviews regularly for IN THESE TIMES.



In her tenth book, Mary Lee Settle continues to describe human lives within the political events and historical contexts that given them meaning.

Letters from a wayward girl

THE MAMIE PAPERS

Edited by Ruth Rosen and Sue Davidson
The Feminist Press, Westport,
1977, \$6.95 in paper

This thick volume of letters from a young turn-of-the-century Jewish prostitute to a well-educated Boston Brahmin lady is a rare, curious document.

In 1885 Mamie Pinzer was born in Philadelphia, the fifth child of Polish-Russian immigrants. The family was poor but not destitute, and the children enjoyed some measure of comfort and education while growing up. Mamie was an attractive, lively young 12-year-old with great expectations when her father was mysteriously murdered and the family was left financially crippled.

To a great extent her father's death determined the course of Mamie's life, for apparently he was her only source of affection in the household. She was yanked from high school by her mother and put to work in a department store (like British milliners' shops at the time, a tempting place for young men to hang about and "recruit" salesgirls). After spending a night away from home, the lonely girl was arrested on her mother's orders as an "incorrigible child," and imprisoned for a while in a home for wayward girls—where she learned more of prostitution than she could have anywhere else. After a try at business college, she escaped with a

lover to Boston. By then she was 14.

Mamie worked out a pattern of precarious survival over the next decade, alternating between prostitution and desperate attempts to make an "honest" living. Like most women of the time who were unfortunate enough to lack a proper education or "breeding" (i.e., most women), she found the cards stacked against her. She showed a zest for writing and at one time commanded a knowledge of five languages, but things went from bad to worse.

When she was 19, she was hospitalized for a year and her left eye was removed, due probably to syphilitic infection. She bounced around the Midwest and South, and finally in 1910 was brought back to Philadelphia to be treated for morphine addiction.

About this time Fanny Quincy Howe, the wealthy and conscientious friend of a social "reformer" who knew Mamie, began a correspondence with the girl to provide moral support. Nearly all Mamie's letters to Mrs. Howe over the next 12 years are reproduced here.

The value of these letters is not literary, though Mamie has her own voice and exhibits fine but uneven powers of observation. In an era when firsthand documentary history has gained new legitimacy, Mamie's letters—a close-knit autobiography of a working-class woman frustrated by her sex, society, and aspira-

tions—show a clear lineage to the "verbal histories" of our own time like *Working*. We are accustomed to reading about the plight of women like Mamie from observers like Jane Addams and Margaret Sanger. Here we have it straight from the horse's mouth.

Mamie's writing contains interesting sociological material (early "halfway houses" for prostitutes; Jewish cafe society) and much inconsequential, long-winded description. For Mrs. Howe (the symbol of ladyhood and motherhood and many things the girl dreamed about), Mamie made her letters a vehicle to create a self-image that was her deepest, if fragile, comfort amid her struggles.

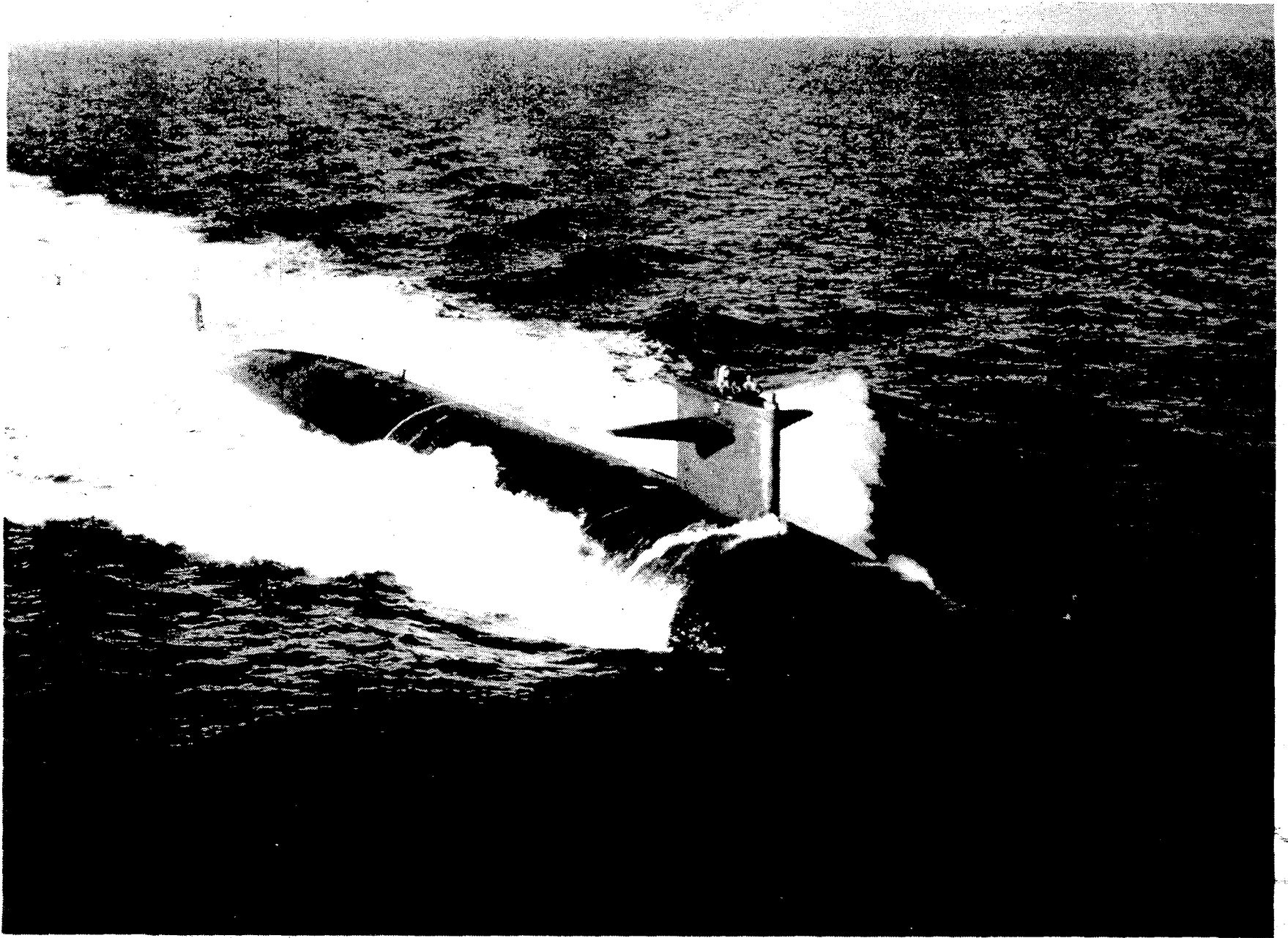
Indeed, it is the peculiar filter of Mamie's mind—biased yet self-effacing, kindly yet bitter, desperate yet haughty—that gives a special, painful dimension to her "history." She could no more be "objective" about events than she could be "political" or "literary." Locked between her dreams and the harsh struggle for survival, she lived a sad, lonely existence. But she was strong and stubborn, and it may be that after Mrs. Howe lost track of her (in 1922), she achieved some resolution of her dilemma.

Her spirit, as well as the society in which it struggled, comes to life in these pages.

—Peter Bohan

Peter Bohan is a free-lance writer and reviewer in Chicago.

LIFE ON A SUB



BY
DAVID
HELVARG

THE FIRST THING ONE NOTICES ON APPROACHING the submarine *Haddo* is its unkempt appearance. Like most of the other subs at Ballast Point it looks badly dented and dinged, a piece of the sail tower is missing and the metal work reminds one of recycled oil barrels. It wears several coats of navy black paint.

"The Captain has a theory that if you paint it it works better," explains one of the enlisted men below. "Actually this pig hardly works at all. A while back we went to sea without a functioning blow system. We couldn't dive. We were on a two-day sail so the Commodore could collect his sub pay for the month."

The U.S. Navy Submarine force consists of two principle categories; Strategic Missile Subs (SSBN) and Fast Attack Subs (SS & SSN).

Strategic Missile Subs, also known as "Boomers," are considered the backbone on America's strategic nuclear arsenal, a key element in the atomic balance of power. Each missile sub is equipped with 16 launching tubes. Each launching tube carries a Poseidon missile. Each Poseidon is believed to carry 10 separately targetable nuclear warheads. This adds up to over 6,000 separate nuclear warheads or 55 percent of the U.S. Strategic Force.

The Navy's missile sub force is based in Guam, an American colonial possession in the far Pacific. It used to be based at Pearl Harbor until political forces in Honolulu expressed strong negative feelings about their city becoming a primary target for Soviet nuclear armedgeddon.

Fast Attack Submarines, both nuclear and diesel, on the other hand, are designed to hunt down and destroy other submarines. There are 24 Fast Attack Submarines based at the Ballast Point Sub Support Facility at Point Loma in San Diego. Eighteen of these ships are nuclear powered and carry the SUBROC 21-inch torpedo tube fired submarine rocket with nuclear warhead.

The Navy hopes to heave an all-nuclear

fast attack sub force of 85 to 90 ships by the early 1980s—after selling off the last of the post-WWII diesel boats to various "allied" nations. The San Diego-based *SS Tang* and *SS Gudgeon*, for instance, are presently slated for refitting and sale to the Shah of Iran.

The *SSN Haddo* is a nuclear attack sub of the *Thresher* class. Commissioned in May 1964, it weighs 3,750 tons, is 278.5 feet long, 31.7 feet wide and 28.4 feet deep. It is powered by a pressurized water-cooled Westinghouse Atomic Reactor.

Below the top hatch in the forward section is the control room, below that on the second level are berths, the mess and the ward room, "officers' country." The torpedo room and additional berths are located on the third level down. To the rear of the torpedo room is a lead-lined door leading to the "restricted" aft section. This two-tiered section houses the atomic reactor and behind that the turbines and auxiliary diesel engine.

The control room is the heart of the ship when it's underway. Jammed tight with gauges and indicator lights, overhead levers, switches and all manner of electronic and mechanical devices, the control room acts as work station for the Captain and the Officer of the Deck.

The Chief of Watch stands by the Helmsmen-Planesmen who sit behind airplane-type steering wheels controlling the trim and angle of the ship. The Quartermaster backs the Electronics Navigator with dead-reckoning and the Fire-Control Technicians work a bank of com-

puter switches tied into the weapons systems.

"I like when we rig for red at night," says a young mate hanging over the SINS Internal Navigation System, a marvel comic in his hand. "When all the switches are glowing under the infra-red and the sonar is pinging active it's just like being in the movies. 'I guess I joined the sub corps because it seemed romantic,' he admits, "like the way it's portrayed by Richard Widmark and Robert Mitchum in *Run Silent, Run Deep*, but now I'm just in it for the \$70 a month extra pay."

The romanticism of submarining can fade fast given the mission realities of today's nuclear navy. "Last time out we ran into a Russian spy boat 12 miles off San Diego," says a member of the control team. "It started following us until a couple of jets from North Island buzzed it off. We don't usually have too much of that kind of cat and mouse stuff. The Pacific's a big place. The Mediterranean's where everyone's always bumping into each other. Around here we usually just run through our drills, go up and down, get another sub out there with us and fire practice torpedoes at each other, that sort of thing."

In the gangway behind the control room power shut-downs is a metal bill-holder screwed into the wall. Inside it lists procedures to be taken in different crisis situations. The list includes Fire/Toxic gas, Power Plant Emergency and Ship Destruction.

Continued on page 18.

"I GUESS I JOINED THE SUB CORPS BECAUSE IT SEEMED ROMANTIC, LIKE IT'S PORTRAYED IN THE MOVIES."